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ABSTRACT

The Newspapers section of the proceedings contains the following 11 papers: "News Items in the 'Shrinking Foreign Newshole': The Case of the New York Times" (Daniel Riffe and others); "Newspaper Coverage of Gays and Lesbians: Editors' Views of Its Longterm Effects" (Marilyn Greenwald and Joseph Bernt); "Effects of Staff Gender on Newspaper Content" (Terri Catlett); "Constructing Gay Death in the Newspaper: Three Stories of Men with AIDS" (Roger Simpson); "'Opening the Pandora's Box': Were American Media Guilty of Negligence in Disclosing Tiananmen Protestors' Identities?" (Lubo Li); "Coverage of Persons with Disabilities in Prestige and High Circulation Dailies" (John S. Clogston); "Editorial Treatment of U.S. Foreign Policy in the New York Times: The Case of Pakistan (1980-90)" (Mughees-uddin); "Tolerance of Senior Daily Newspaper Editors for Photographs of People with AIDS and Gays and Lesbians" (Joseph P. Bernt and Marilyn S. Greenwald); "Outside the Frame: Newspaper Coverage of the Sugar Ray Leonard Wife Abuse Story" (Michael A. Messner and William S. Solomon); "The International Flow of News in Major U.S. Newspapers: The 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre" (Kangcong Zhang and Guy E. Lometti); and "Newspaper Ties, Community Ties and the Evaluation of a Local Community" (Judith M. Buddenbaum). (HB)

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THE ASSOCIATION FOR EDUCATION IN JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION

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Part XIV: Newspapers.

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INTERNATIONAL DIVISION

News Items in the "Shrinking Foreign Newshole": The Case of the New York *Times*

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News Items in the "Shrinking Foreign Newshole": The Case of the New York *Times*

Observers often lament the "eclipse of the overseas correspondent,"[1] "a vanishing species."[2] They worry over "the plight of foreign news,"[3] itself "an endangered species" which "continues to decline at an alarming rate."[4] The implication is that a smaller "window on the world" in American newspapers is dangerous.[5] One critic charged the newspaper industry with "contributing to the rising level of ignorance about the world that scares American educators and civic leaders."[6]

Empirical evidence that the foreign newshole is indeed shrinking consists primarily of isolated content analyses. But interpolating "trends" from widely separate data points and disparate sampling and measurement techniques is risky.

Some studies examine percentage of space devoted to international news (i.e., international news space divided by total non-advertising space). While handy, such a gross approach has limitations, emphasizing sheer volume of coverage rather than what is covered or ignored, and how. (One optimist has suggested that expanded page counts in recent years--for more features, local and business news--could make the proportion of international news seem less, even if actual number of stories remained constant.[7] That optimism, however, seems unwarranted in the face of the linage and revenue problems that economic recession has created for newspapers.)

A complementary approach to the "shrinking newshole" might look at its effect on events, topics or countries covered, by counting items, not inches. Given the role of newspapers *as* windows on the world, this approach seems equally valuable.

The present case study explores foreign news item count as a means of examining the New York *Times'* coverage of international news, sampling across 22 years (1969-1990). The longitudinal design minimizes the distortion that historical events (e.g., the Iranian hostage crisis) might cause if smaller time periods (a week, several months, or one or two years) are examined.

Evidence of the Shrinking Foreign Newshole

In 1953, the International Press Institute[8] reported that foreign news was on average 8% of total newshole in American newspapers. In 1977 Gerbner and Marvanyi[9] estimated foreign news content of nine American dailies to be 11.1% during the week of May 24, 1970. In a 1973 ANPA report, Bogart, Orenstein, Tolley and Lehman[10] examined *only* news items over five inches long, and found an average of 10.2% of newshole space was international news. Later NAB studies[11] pegged foreign news at 6.3% in 1977 and 6% in 1982. Markel and March[12] in 1976 reported that 20 of the largest newspapers allotted 10% of news space to foreign news over a two-year study period. Most recently, Emery[13] found 2.6% of non-ad space allocated to international news in 10 major newspapers during the November 1987-January 1988 period.

Why the Shrinking Newshole?

The cost of foreign reporting is often blamed for the decline in foreign coverage. As Kaplan concluded, "(I)t is far easier and, above all, cheaper to rip the continuously moving stories from the wire service machines adorning most newsrooms than to employ, train and dispatch qualified journalists possessing the necessary specialized backgrounds to staff foreign bureaus."[14] Foreign correspondents can cost hundreds of thousands of dollars.[15] For years the number of correspondents declined, but Kliesch's[16] 1990 census reports a "sharp reversal" of that trend. Some chains, which may control as many as 100-150 member papers' access to international news, do not maintain overseas bureaus.[17] Volume of coverage is also impacted because the correspondents who are overseas often cover large areas (as many as 15 countries).[18]

Increased restrictions on correspondent access in parts of the world might have an effect on the volume of news. Hostile environments or governments pose risks that have included harassment, kidnapping, imprisonment, expulsion and even murder.[19] Studies have explored the impact of such constraints on correspondents' reporting (e.g., through "news borrowing," or "listening post" reporting).[20]

Others would argue, however, that the real culprits behind reduced foreign coverage are the changing role of newspapers and preferences of readers. "Newspapers have been supplanted by television as the prime source of news for many Americans--CNN brings world events into American living rooms nearly as they happen."[21] As a result, newspapers--particularly corporate-owned ones--have changed. "The response has been to cut costs, which means foreign news coverage, and to search frantically for ways to increase circulation, which means relying on news formulas that stress the-world-doesn't-matter-to-us-parochialism."[22] Readership surveys show foreign news rates particularly low in the 25-30 age group that "the industry is trying hardest to woo."[23]

Professionals sense this reader parochialism. Interviewing correspondents, Emery found "great concern about these newsroom decisions and provincialism..... they shared the view that they were writing for a lazy audience, where ignorance about geography and history allowed the U.S. government to frame news agendas."[24]

But nearly 25 years ago, Time's Thomas Griffith challenged the accuracy of such images of readers: "Unfortunately, the premature boredom of American newspaper editors is most acute in the area of foreign news. They assume that Americans are weary of unsolvable problems in unpronounceable places."[25] Indeed, a 1978 Harris survey found that while 41% of the public surveyed expressed great interest in foreign news, only 5% of the polled reporters, editors and news directors believed consumers had such interest.[26] In 1990, surveys from 20 markets around the country found 45% of those surveyed indicated interest in international news.[27]

Research Objectives

This case study examined the New York Times over a 22-year period (1969-1990), using representative samples of dates from each year. But if our initial focus was on sheer quantity of coverage, we also assessed changes in the quality of coverage.

For example, how much international news has earned front-page display over the years? Have international news items become longer or shorter? Perhaps more important given the '70s debate over inequities in international news coverage (particularly of the Third World),[28] how has coverage of different geopolitical blocs changed? Similarly, has the "coups and earthquakes," "bad news" decried by critics[29] continued to dominate?

Why use the New York Times for a case study? Obviously, the Times is atypical. An elite paper known for international news coverage, it maintains an overseas staff and has access to multiple news services. Its influence among peer news organizations as well as lesser organizations is legend; indeed, if one of the world's elite newspapers narrows its coverage of the rest of the world, that more likely portends narrowing among other papers' coverage than broadening. And because the international news component of the resource-rich Times has typically been larger than most papers, it represents a more sensitive--and powerful--means of testing for long-term trends, and for teasing out subtler qualitative patterns.

Method

Microfilms of the Times were used. All international news was coded in issues from two constructed weeks (two randomly selected Sundays, Mondays, etc.) per year from 1969 to 1990 inclusive, or 308 total issues. According to a study of sampling, two constructed weeks per year is the most efficient sample size for estimating reliably a newspaper's content.[30]

Items were coded for geopolitical region using World Bank categories of First (Western industrialized nations and Japan), Second (Communist or socialist nations) and Third World; length (number of paragraphs); topic ("good" and "bad" news); and *page* (front page or other). Each of ten coders[31] received a randomly selected set of sample dates. In a 15-story reliability check, average between-coder agreement for the one "judgment" variable--topic--was 0.82.[32]

A non-parametric test for trend was used.[33] First, ranks were assigned to years, with the most recent year ranked "1" (i.e., 1990 was "1," and 1969 was "22"). Additional ranks were assigned reflecting prevalence of key variables (e.g., the year with the most international items or the greatest average item length might be "1"). Kendall's *tau* was computed between ranks. Positive values indicate increasing trends, and negative values indicate decreasing trends.

Findings and Discussion

Table 1 provides the number of international news items (N) located in each year's sample of 14 days, a daily mean (N divided by 14), and the annual mean item length in paragraphs. Steady changes in N corroborate the dramatic drop suggested by individual studies at irregular points in time. The number of items dropped from the peak of 685 in 1969 to half that total by the late '80s. That decline is mirrored in the decreasing average number of items per day, from about 49 per day in 1969 to 22-23 by the end of the study period. The test for trend is negative and significant (*tau*=-.78, $p<0.001$), indicating the strength of the steady decline in international coverage.

A caveat about comparability to other data: as clearly as the data support the hypothesis that the newshole is shrinking, they must be evaluated carefully. Though research[34] has shown item frequency in a content category is highly correlated with space devoted to that category, we cannot convert numbers of items to a percentage of all items, nor compare them directly to Emery's "percentage of non-advertising newshole," absent a count of all items--domestic and international.

On the other hand, the number of individual items seems an intuitively sound indicator of the paper's sampling from the available universe of news items provided by its wires and correspondents. The data do show clearly that over the last 22 years, the resource-rich New York *Times*, well known for its international coverage, has cut in half the number of foreign items it selects for publication.

But if the paper ran fewer international items as the years passed, it also ran, on average, longer items. Table 1 reports the average international news item length (in number of paragraphs), by year. For example, for the 685 items located for 1969, mean length was 8 paragraphs, the smallest of the 22 years. In only four of the 22 years did items average fewer than 9 paragraphs. The longest stories were published in the last half dozen years--peaking at 13.8 paragraphs in 1989--of the study, when the paper published the fewest items. *Tau* for ranks assigned on the basis of mean item length is positive and significant (0.70, $p<0.001$), indicating an overall trend toward longer news items across the 22 years.

It is tempting to evaluate these countering trends--fewer but longer items--as representing effort toward compensation. E.g., even if the paper was running fewer foreign news items--because of costs, reader parochialism, or whatever--was it nonetheless providing longer pieces? Did the longer pieces represent efforts toward providing more context for the news? Or did the higher means indicate that reductions affected short items disproportionately?

A definitive answer to these questions is beyond the scope of this study. Still, the insight gained by examining item length indicates that the shrinking newshole phenomenon is complex. Table 2 provides a similar insight, examining trends in *Times* page one (beginning on the first page, first section) publication of international news items. The data indicate the small frequency of page one items located in each year's 14-day sample, and the resulting small percentage of each year's total foreign items on page one. Thus, in the 1969 sample, 30 international news items began on page one; or 4.4% of all 685 international stories were page one.

The significant negative *tau* for annual frequency of page one foreign news stories (-0.25, $p<0.05$) mirrors the overall trend toward fewer foreign items: the page one foreign news items in each annual sample declined across years. Note the trend reversal, however, when the data are viewed as percentages of each year's total foreign items. Across the 22 years, an increasingly larger percentage of each year's international news was on page one (*tau*$=0.59$, $p<0.001$).

Table 3 examines emphasis on "bad news" in international news coverage. How was "bad news" operationalized? An initial 26-topic coding scheme was collapsed to the following 14 categories used in previous studies:[35] internal (within-nation) politics, internal conflict, internal economics, social policies, science and technology, arts and the media, international relations, between-nation conflicts, international economics, displaced persons and refugees, miscellaneous "bad news" (crime, accidents, deaths, disasters, etc.), sports, human interest and religion.

The present study's "bad news" category was created by further combining: internal conflict, between-nation conflicts, displaced persons and refugees, and the existing miscellaneous "bad news" category. The data are presented two ways. On the one hand, the sheer frequency of bad news stories is provided, and the significant value of *tau* ($-.73$, $p< 0.001$) indicates a steady reduction in the number of bad news stories published. That mirrors Table 1's overall trend.

However, those frequencies are also used to indicate the percentage of each year's total stories which are bad news (e.g., in 1969 225--or 32.8%--of the total 685 stories qualify as bad news). When ranks are assigned for these proportions, trend is small and non-significant (*tau* $= -.03$). In short, bad news items decreased significantly, but the proportion of each year's items which qualified as bad news did not change appreciably. The paper may have been running longer and more front-page items, but there was no indication of any effort to provide fewer items on "unsolvable problems in unpronounceable places."

Table 4 examines differences in geopolitical focus of items (First, Second or Third World). When raw frequencies are used as the basis for ranks, tau is negative and significant for each focus, indicating the overall shrinking of the newshole. But when the frequencies are used to determine the proportion of each year's total items from each focus, a different picture emerges. The proportion of items focusing on First World nations decreased significantly over the years (tau = -0.49, $p<0.001$), while the proportion of items dealing with Third World nations actually increased significantly (tau = 0.34, $p<.05$). The Second World nations? The trend score is small and non-significant. Indeed, eyeballing the percentages suggests curvilinearity: declining coverage in the '70s, but increasing coverage during the last half of the '80s (during the Glasnost era?).

Perhaps most intriguing here is the significant increase in proportion of foreign items that dealt with the Third World. Critics have argued both a qualitative and quantitative imbalance in coverage of the Third World.[36] These data, however, belie any quantitative imbalance; during the first years of the study, the plurality of items was from First World nations, but by 1978 and on through 1990, Third World news represented the plurality of all items.

Conclusions

If this study has failed to defuse the argument that American newspapers are sliding into provincialism, it has at least explored an alternative measure of that slide, and has thus been able to show that the shrinking foreign newshole phenomenon is far more complex than meets the eye.

There are obvious limitations to this study, most notably its examination only of the New York *Times*, an acknowledged leader in volume of international news coverage. That volume of coverage makes it possible to detect subtle quantitative and qualitative trends, but does the *Times* serve as a bellwether for the industry? Is it in any way representative? Smaller newspapers may not have evidenced the same consistent trends over the past two decades. But if one of the world's elite newspapers narrows its coverage of the rest of the world, that more likely portends narrowing among other papers' coverage than it portends any broadening of coverage.

Further, the data represent absolute item frequencies and, without a tally of all news items (foreign and domestic), the proportion of all items which are international items remains unclear. Though they are an internally consistent basis for comparison across years, item counts are not readily comparable to other data on newshole proportion.

Yet item tallies permit the kind of clearer examination of news values, events and newsplay which measuring newshole proportion precludes. Perhaps most important, this is a complementary and not competing perspective for examining international coverage. Of course, future research should address both these limitations, tallying total numbers of items (*both* foreign and domestic), and employing the item-count approach in longitudinal studies of representative samples of papers.

The New York *Times*' "window on the world" got smaller between 1969 and 1990, in terms of number of items, a conclusion based on multiple, "equal interval" data points, and not on interpolation from widely separate individual data points. Was the *Times* responding to the entirety of economic pressures--the cost of maintaining its correspondents, and fewer pages as newspapers' ad linage[37] and revenue dominance (among competing media) decrease and newsprint costs continue to increase (383% since 1970)?[38] Of course, that interpretation might seem most applicable to recent years; some analysts point to the current "ad slump" as a recent phenomenon, following a decade of "remarkable growth."[39]

Or, do the reductions and changes represent the paper's response to the narrowing preferences of readers, particularly readers in desirable demographic groups? The *Times* and many of the elites who rely upon it might prefer the paper continue to print "all the (international) news that's fit to print," but if reader--and advertiser--interest shifts substantially to other more contemporary--or provincial--content (enhanced lifestyle coverage, etc.), the paper must respond.

But should we invoke Emery and condemn the *Times* for "contributing to the rising level of ignorance about the world," by reducing foreign coverage? Though the *Times*' window on the world became smaller by *Times* standards (but not by most papers' standards), its view on the world also changed in other ways over the 22-year period. International news stories got longer, a larger proportion of them were on page one, and a larger proportion dealt with Third World topics. The proportion that dealt with "bad news" remained fairly constant.

On the other hand, has the *Times* changed because of the increasing role of electronic media as readers' initial source of international news? The move toward fewer, but longer, page one pieces seems reasonable. These longer pieces provide the context and background that network news programs often cannot. And such items clearly merit page one treatment; after all, CNN or one of the other networks has typically already broken the story and made it news.

We noted these explanations for declining coverage earlier in this paper. Those lamenting the shrinking international newshole cite them frequently. Unfortunately, we have no answers, only our description. Efforts to explain reductions and other changes based solely on inspection of content--even 22 years' worth--must be speculative at best.

Notes

1. Don Cook, "Trenchcoats for Sale: The Eclipse of the Foreign Correspondent," *Saturday Review*, June 24, 1976, pp. 13-16. More recently, see John M. Hamilton and George A. Krimsky, "'Juju' News from Abroad," *Gannett Center Journal*, 3:4:137-150 (1989). For a more optimistic but dated view, see Marna Perry, "Foreign Correspondents are Staging a Comeback," *presstime*, April 1980, pp. 18-19.

2. Ralph. E. Kliesch, "A Vanishing Species: The American Newsman Abroad," *Overseas Press Club Directory* (New York: Overseas Press Club, 1975).

3. Frank L. Kaplan, "The Plight of Foreign News in the U.S. Mass Media: An Assessment," *Gazette*, 25:4:233-243 (1979).

4. Michael Emery, "An Endangered Species: The International Newshole," *Gannett Center Journal*, 3:4:151-164 (1989).

5. Hamilton and Krimsky, *op. cit.*.

6. Emery, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

7. Deanne Termini, of Belden Associates, Dallas, in George Garneau, "Foreign News Grows, but it is Reported Here Less," *Editor & Publisher*, Feb. 10, 1990, p. 18.

8. International Press Institute, *The Flow of the News* (Zurich: International Press Institute, 1953).

9. George Gerbner and George Marvanyi, "The Many Worlds of the World's Press," *Journal of Communication*, 27:1:52-66 (Winter 1977). A recent study of sampling, however, argued that the consecutive-day sampling used by Gerbner and Marvanyi is of suspect reliability. See Daniel Riffe, Charles F. Aust and Stephen R. Lacy, "The Effectiveness of Random, Consecutive Day and Constructed Week Sampling in Newspaper Content Analysis," *Journalism Quarterly* (in press).

10. Leo Bogart, F. Orenstein, S. Tolley & C. Lehman, "News and Editorial Content and Readership of the Daily Newspaper," in Galen Rarick, ed., *News Research for*

Better Newspapers Volume 7 (Washington: ANPA, 1973).

11. Garneau, *op. cit.*

12. Lester Markel and Audrey March, *Global Challenge to the United States* (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1976). Th study is described in R. Brown, "Press and Foreign Policy," *Editor & Publisher*, April 3, 1976, p. 34.

13. Emery, *op. cit.*

14. Kaplan, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

15. See Hamilton and Krimsky, *op. cit.*; Stanley W. Cloud, "The Last Media Circus," *Time*, August 12, 1991, p. 26; and Kaplan, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

16. Ralph E. Kliesch, "The U.S. Press Corps Abroad Rebounds: A 7th World Survey of Foreign Correspondents," *Newspaper Research Journal*, 12:24-31 (Winter 1991).

17. Thomas Griffith, "Overdose on Excitement," *Time*, June 12, 1978, p. 102; see also Kaplan, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

18. Daniel Sreebny, "American Correspondents in the Middle East: Perceptions and Problems," *Journalism Quarterly*, 56:386-388 (Summer 1979).

19. Leonard R. Sussman, "Dying (and Being Killed) on the Job: A Case Study of World Journalists, 1982-1989," *Journalism Quarterly*, 68:195-199 (Spring/Summer 1991).

20. Daniel Riffe, "International News Borrowing: A Trend Analysis," *Journalism Quarterly*, 61:142-148 (Spring 1984); "A Case Study of the Effect of Expulsion of U.S. Correspondents on New York *Times* Coverage of Iran During the Hostage Crisis," *International Communication Bulletin*, 26:11-15 (Spring 1991); and C. Anthony Giffard and Lisa Cohen, "South African TV and Censorship: Does It Reduce Negative Coverage?" *Journalism Quarterly*, 66:3-10 (Spring 1989).

21. Garneau, *op. cit.*

22. Hamilton and Krimsky, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

23. Ibid., p. 147.

24. Emery, op. cit., p. 162.

25. Kaplan, op. cit., p. 234.

26. Ibid., p. 239.

27. Garneau, op. cit.

28. See, for example, Rosemary Righter, "Is Western-style Journalism Appropriate to the Third World?" Nieman Reports, Summer 1978, pp. 30-32; and Leonard Sussmann, Mass News Media and the Third World (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1977). See also: David H. Weaver, Judith M. Buddenbaum and Jo Ellen Fair, "Press Freedom, Media, and Development, 1950-1979: A Study of 134 Nations," Journal of Communication, 35:2:104-117 (Spring 1985); John C. Merrill, "A Growing Controversy: The 'Free Flow' of News Among Nations," in J. Richstad and M.A. Anderson, eds., Crisis in International News: Policies and Prospects (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 151-161.

29. Mort Rosenblum, Coups and Earthquakes: Reporting the World for America (New York: Harper & Row, 1979); Daniel Riffe and Eugene F. Shaw, "Conflict and Consonance: Coverage of Third World in two U.S. Papers," Journalism Quarterly, 59:617-626 (Winter 1982). For empirical testing of the concept that a bad news emphasis ("normative deviance") predicts coverage, see Tsan-Kuo Chang, Pamela J. Shoemaker and Nancy Brendlinger, "Determinants of International News Coverage in the U.S. Media," Communication Research, 14:396-414 (August 1987).

30. Riffe, Aust and Lacy, op. cit.

31. Thanks, for their coding work, to Rhonda J. Gibson, Elizabeth K. Viall, Huiuk Yi, Suzanne Campbell, Julia Saxon and Micky Vest.

32. Ole R. Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing, 1969), pp. 137-140. For easy, non-judgment variables

(number of paragraphs, page, etc.) agreement was 100%.

33. Jean Gibbons, Nonparametric Methods for Quantitative Analysis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1976) p. 295; Gerhard Tintner, Econometrics (New York: Wiley and Sons, 1952) pp. 211-215.

34. Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications (New York: Macmillan, 1967) p. 35. See also the earlier, Richard W. Budd, "Attention Score: A Device for Measuring News 'Play,'" Journalism Quarterly, 41:259-262 (Summer 1964).

35. Riffe and Shaw, op. cit.

36. See note 29 supra.

37. Dennis Cauchon, "Ad Slump Presses Newspapers," USA Today, April 24, 1990, pp. 1-B, 2-B.

38. Melissa Turner, "Redefining the Role of Daily Newspapers: Competition, Falling Profits Force Changes," The Atlanta Journal and Constitution, August 14, 1990, pp. C-1, C-6.

39. Cauchon, op. cit.

TABLE 1

Mean Number and Length of New York Times Foreign News Items Per Sample Day, by Year

YEAR	(N)	AVERAGE: Daily Items	Item Length (grafs)
1969	685	48.9	8.0
1970	675	48.2	8.3
1971	563	40.2	9.1
1972	530	37.9	9.2
1973	529	37.8	9.3
1974	540	38.6	9.7
1975	546	39.0	8.8
1976	591	42.2	10.5
1977	433	30.9	8.8
1978	474	33.9	9.8
1979	504	36.0	9.5
1980	361	25.8	9.6
1981	373	26.6	9.6
1982	392	28.0	9.4
1983	391	27.9	9.4
1984	381	27.2	10.2
1985	351	25.1	11.7
1986	341	24.4	12.1
1987	311	22.2	12.6
1988	328	23.4	13.2
1989	313	22.4	13.8
1990	333	23.8	13.0
Test for trend: tau=		-.78***	.70***

*** p < .001

TABLE 2

Frequency of New York Times Foreign News Items on Page One, and Percentage of All Foreign News Items on Page One, by Year

YEAR	f	%
1969	30	4.4
1970	37	5.5
1971	44	7.8
1972	31	5.8
1973	34	6.4
1974	40	7.4
1975	27	4.9
1976	36	6.1
1977	23	5.3
1978	32	6.7
1979	31	6.1
1980	25	6.9
1981	27	7.2
1982	25	6.4
1983	27	6.9
1984	32	8.4
1985	28	8.0
1986	25	7.3
1987	23	7.4
1988	35	10.7
1989	37	11.8
1990	27	8.1
Test for trend: tau=	-.25*	.59***

* p < .05

*** p < .001

TABLE 3

Frequency of New York Times Foreign News Items that are "Bad News," and Percentage of All Foreign News Items that are "Bad News," by Year

YEAR	f	%
1969	225	32.8
1970	236	34.9
1971	201	35.8
1972	214	40.4
1973	197	37.2
1974	173	32.0
1975	177	32.4
1976	187	31.6
1977	128	29.6
1978	156	32.9
1979	166	33.0
1980	120	33.6
1981	130	35.0
1982	156	40.3
1983	124	31.6
1984	146	38.6
1985	161	46.0
1986	127	38.0
1987	101	32.6
1988	102	31.3
1989	123	39.3
1990	87	26.2
Test for trend: tau=	-.73***	-.03

*** p < .001

TABLE 4

Frequency of New York Times Foreign News Items From Three Geopolitical Regions and Percentage of All Foreign News Items from Each by Year

Geopolitical Focus:

Year	First World f	Second World f	Third World f	First World %	Second World %	Third World %	(N)
1969	311	129	245	45.4	18.8	35.8	(685)
1970	312	88	275	46.2	13.0	40.7	(675)
1971	233	89	241	41.4	15.8	42.8	(563)
1972	240	74	216	45.3	14.0	40.7	(530)
1973	245	60	224	46.3	11.3	42.3	(529)
1974	239	68	233	44.2	12.6	43.1	(540)
1975	258	51	237	47.2	9.3	43.4	(546)
1976	270	79	242	45.7	13.4	40.9	(591)
1977	209	51	173	48.3	11.8	40.0	(433)
1978	204	65	205	43.0	13.7	43.2	(474)
1979	223	60	221	44.2	11.9	43.8	(504)
1980	138	51	171	38.3	14.2	47.5	(360)
1981	148	64	158	40.0	17.3	42.7	(370)
1982	161	46	185	41.1	11.7	47.2	(392)
1983	161	50	181	41.1	12.8	46.2	(392)
1984	145	51	183	38.3	13.5	48.3	(379)
1985	146	36	167	41.8	10.3	47.9	(349)
1986	137	39	165	40.2	11.4	48.4	(341)
1987	130	40	140	41.9	12.9	45.2	(310)
1988	128	59	141	39.0	18.0	43.0	(328)
1989	118	63	130	37.9	20.3	41.8	(311)
1990	134	71	127	40.4	21.4	38.3	(332)
Test for trend: tau=	-.76***	-.47**	-.75***	-.49***	.10	.34*	-.78***

* p = or < .05

** p < .01

*** p < .001

Newspaper Coverage of Gays and Lesbians: Editors' Views of Its Longterm Effects

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Newspaper Coverage of Gays and Lesbians: Editors' Views of Its Longterm Effects[1]

Introduction

The influence and effects of the media have long been a topic of communication research. What consequences result from what is printed and aired? Does this information move viewers and readers to action or change their thinking? Researchers for many years have shown particular interest in how and if coverage of political candidates and campaigns affect voting behavior and in the effect of media violence on audiences. More recently studies have focused on how portrayal of certain groups of people, often minorities and women, affects audience attitudes about those groups.[2] The emergence of AIDS as a major story in the 1980s has extended this interest in audience effects to coverage of the gay community.[3]

This study focuses on whether senior editors at daily newspapers believe coverage of gays and lesbians, or the lack of it, affects readers. The present study results from a comprehensive survey of newspaper editors regarding their views of how their own newspaper does and should cover issues of concern to gays and lesbians. Much mass communication research over the last seven decades has focused on the effects of the media.[4] This has covered a broad spectrum of topics and has employed a variety of methodologies, but nearly all has centered directly on the audience; that is, what effects, direct or indirect, does media content have on audiences? Results have been varied and, at times, nebulous.

This study does not address the effects of content on readers. Rather, it does attempt to gauge newspaper editors' views of how coverage of a particular issue might affect readers. It is important to measure these attitudes because they are likely to influence what editors place in the newspaper. It is the editors who serve as gatekeepers of information, and who determine what readers see in the newspaper each day. Clearly, their views have an indirect effect on readers through what is printed in the newspaper. The impact of their views is magnified when coverage deals with minorities, privacy or "controversial" subjects such as rape or child abuse. One recent example of how an editor's views of a controversial issue can directly influence readers and stir debate is the case of Editor Geneva Olverholser of the Des Moines Register, who approved the publishing of a series of stories in 1990 about a rape, naming the victim. Olverholser believes publishing the names of rape victims will eventually reduce the stigma of rape in the eyes of readers. The series later won a Pulitzer Prize and stirred much debate in and out of the newsroom about the issue of publishing rape victims' names. Until then, it was most newspapers' policy to print names of adult victims of most other crimes, but not rape.

This study specifically attempts to measure editors' attitudes about the effects of media coverage in changing reader tolerance of gay lifestyles; the effect identifying gays and lesbians has on them and on readers; and the extent to which editors think beliefs about gays and lesbians are ingrained in readers.

Interestingly, it was the emergence of AIDS in the 1980s that led to this new interest in the effects of coverage of the gay and lesbian community. Much has been written about media coverage of AIDS and people with AIDS, and, consequently, of the gay and lesbian community. Criticism of media coverage of the AIDS epidemic also pointed out flaws of the media's coverage of other issues.

In his 1990 book, *Covering the Plague: AIDS and the American Media*, journalist James Kinsella pointed out that, by the mid-1980s, most mainstream American media outlets began widespread coverage of the AIDS epidemic only after it became apparent the disease was beginning to affect reporters, editors and people these news managers knew. Kinsella claimed most news managers were at a loss about how to cover the disease and divided over whether it even merited widespread coverage, presumably because its primary victims were gay men -- a small, insignificant minority, they thought.[5] By the 1990s, however, the public had become more sophisticated about the disease as well as about lifestyles of gays and lesbians. President Bush delivered his first major policy address on the disease, and supported a bill that would outlaw discrimination against people with AIDS.[6]

But many questions remain about coverage of AIDS and issues of concern to gays and lesbians and the effects of that coverage. Can legislation truly outlaw bias against people with AIDS, or, for that matter, any other group of people? How does such legislation and coverage of it in the media affect attitudes? Kinsella believes that, in the 1990s, coverage of AIDS is still a trial-and-error process, and the handling of AIDS stories reveals other flaws of the media:

> AIDS is often a confused story. Sometimes it's a story that gets the facts just dead wrong, and it's frequently a story that is convoluted by the simple fact that people are afraid to use straightforward language. Our experience with it, I think, points up all the foibles in the media and the way reporters and editors do their jobs. 7

Part of the erratic coverage, according to one former health official, is that editors and reporters in particular are simply not trained in science and health coverage. Stephen Joseph, former New York City health commissioner, said most reporters are interested in today's news and its ramifications tomorrow. "The AIDS epidemic is a process, not an event, and the U.S. media in particular do poorly with coverage of process issues."[8]

The portrayal of gays and lesbians in newspapers is a topic worthy of examination for several reasons. "Mainstream" heterosexual readers of newspapers often get their only view of gays and lesbians from the media. A self-identifying minority, gays and lesbians make up about 10 percent of the population, yet some people "see" them is only in the media. As Larry Gross points out, that makes the media portrayal of gays and lesbians particularly powerful -- it defines a reality for readers and viewers.[9]

Their portrayal is equally as vital for the gay and lesbian community itself, and it is perhaps predictable that an underrepresentation of gays and lesbians in newspapers has drawn criticism by gay and lesbian journalists.[10] Some of these journalists believe that the very underreporting of AIDS during the early years of the epidemic indirectly led to the spread of the disease because many people did not know of its severity and pervasiveness.[11] Further, the underreporting of activities and concerns of gays and lesbians may contribute to society's homophobia, some gays and lesbians believe, prompting many gay and lesbian public figures, celebrities and community leaders to hide their sexual orientation. Therefore, it is difficult for young gays and lesbians to identify positive models.

Fortunately, the effect on society of what they air and print has been of growing concern in the last decade to news managers. This concern may have come about as society becomes more sophisticated and many subjects that were once taboo are now openly discussed. Rapidly advancing communications technology may have also created a "global village" mentality where more people have access to the media, so little is done behind the scenes. In addition, minorities such as gays and lesbians have made an attempt to become more "visible" through such methods as organized marches and protests.

Method

This study focuses on editors' attitudes about the effects of their coverage of gays and lesbians, and their views of readers' ingrained attitudes about gays and lesbians. Specifically, the editors were asked the following questions, and asked if they "strongly agree(d)," "agree(d) somewhat," "disagree(d) somewhat," or "strongly disagree(d)":

> The more information readers have about issues and activities of concern to gays and lesbians, the more tolerant our society will become of gay lifestyles.
>
> Identifying business leaders, politicians, writers,

> sports heroes, and celebrities as being gay or lesbian provides needed positive role models for young gays and lesbians.
>
> Society's sentiments against gays and lesbians are so ingrained that, in the long run, media coverage will do little to change them.
>
> Society has become so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians in any capacity can seriously harm their careers and personal lives.

These questions, along with forty-one other items, surveyed editors about such issues as their preferred terminology when referring to issues of concern to gays and lesbians, their views about several hypothetical situations regarding when or if to cover issues of concern to gays and lesbians, their views about listing AIDS as a cause of death in obituaries and their views of their newspapers' coverage of issues and concerns of gays and lesbians. Demographic information about the editors and their newspapers was also gathered. The demographic material and the responses to some of the other questions in the survey were examined to see if a statistically significant relationship exists between those factors and the four questions dealt with in this paper. Significance was determined at the $p<.05$ level.

The sample of 450 senior editors for this study was drawn from a list in descending circulation of the nation's 1,575 daily newspapers. This list was divided into ten segments, with each segment representing about ten percent of the total daily newspaper circulation in the United States. Forty-five managing editors, associate editors, city or metro editors, and news editors were selected from the dailies included in each segment. The names of the senior editors included in the sample were selected from the _1989 Editor and Publisher International_

Yearbook. The resulting sample included senior editors who perform a wide range of editorial and managerial functions and reflects the circulation and geographical diversity of the country's daily newspapers. Those papers with large circulations contributed more than one senior editor to the sample. For those segments from the list containing many dailies with small circulations, only one senior editor was selected from several newspapers.

Each of the 450 senior editors selected for the sample was sent a letter in February, 1991, requesting their participation and explaining that they would be receiving a telephone call from an interviewer in the next few weeks. By mid-May, student interviewers from the Bush Research Center at Ohio University's E.W. Scripps School of Journalism had completed telephone surveys with 227 senior editors. Once scheduling conflicts were overcome, agreement to participate ran more than 90 percent. The results presented here are based on 227 completed surveys conducted between February 28 and May 10, 1991. Those interviewed included 71 managing editors, 85 city or metro editors, 30 news editors and 31 other senior editors. They averaged 40.6 years of age, had an average of 17.2 years of newspaper experience and had completed an average of 4.6 years of education beyond high school. One-hundred-forty-one had completed a journalism major.

Findings

The senior editors surveyed seemed to believe, overall, that the media do shape the way viewers and readers think about gay lifestyles and gay issues. They also believe that attitudes of their audiences are not so ingrained that the media cannot change them, perhaps over time. The editors also indicated that the identification of gay or lesbian celebrities, sports heroes, government officials and the like could provide positive role models. Editors were split, however, when asked if they believed a homophobic society might make it dangerous for gays and lesbians personally and professionally to be identified in the newspaper. (See Table 1)

When asked their opinions about the statement, "The more information readers have about issues and activities of concern to gays and lesbians, the more tolerant our society will become of gay lifestyles," 37.3 percent of the editors strongly agreed, 47.5 percent agreed somewhat, 13.4 percent disagreed somewhat, and 1.8 percent strongly disagreed.

When asked their opinions about the statement, "Identifying business leaders, politicians, writers, sports heroes and celebrities as being gay or lesbian provides needed positive role models for young gays and lesbians," 15.1 percent strongly agreed, 54.2 percent agreed somewhat, 25.5 percent disagreed somewhat and 5.2 percent strongly disagreed.

Editors also indicated that media coverage can change the public's opinion of gays and lesbians. When asked about the statement, "Society's sentiments against gays and lesbians are so ingrained that, in the long run, media coverage will do little to change them," only 5.8 percent strongly agreed, 18.3 percent agreed somewhat, 54.9 percent disagreed somewhat and 21 percent strongly disagreed.

Editors were more evenly divided in their opinions when asked about the homophobia of their readers. When asked their opinion of the statement, "Society is so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians in any capacity can seriously harm their careers and personal lives," 11.3 percent strongly agreed, 37.4 percent agreed somewhat, 45.5 percent disagreed somewhat, and 5.9 percent strongly disagreed.

Several statistically significant relationships ($p<.05$) were found between editors' views about their own newspapers' coverage of issues of concern to gays and lesbians, and their belief that newspapers do affect attitudes about gays and lesbians. For instance, editors in the telephone survey were asked to rate their newspapers' coverage of "political activities of gays and lesbians" as "excellent," "good," "fair," or "poor." A statistically significant relationship was noted between editors who were the most critical of their newspapers in this area, and the belief that the more information viewers have about issues of concern to gays and lesbians, the more tolerant society will become about them. Editors who were the most critical of their newspapers' coverage of political concerns of gays and lesbians were more likely to agree that coverage increases tolerance. (See Table 2)

Similar statistically significant relationships were found between editors' own critical views of their coverage and their belief that media can change attitudes. Editors were asked if their newspapers devote enough space to the non-medical concerns of gays and lesbians. Those who did not think their newspapers devoted enough space to these non-medical concerns were the most likely to agree that identifying business leaders, politicians, writers, sports heroes and celebrities as being gay or lesbian provides needed role models for young gays and lesbians. (See Table 3)

Those editors who disagreed that society is so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians can harm their careers or lives were likely to be the most open about what they publish in some obituaries and in photos. Those editors who disagreed with the homophobia statement were likely to include in an obituary of a person with AIDS the name of a lover as a survivor, if the lover requests it. (See Table 4) Those who disagreed with the homophobia statement were also more likely to disagree that a photo in the newspaper of gays holding hands or embracing is inappropriate. (See Tables 5 and 6) Editors who disagreed with the homophobia statement were also more likely to think their own newspapers' coverage of anti-gay violence is good. (See Table 7)

Editors were also given various scenarios about what would be appropriate to publish in their newspapers in general, and about what would be appropriate to include in obituaries of those who died of AIDS. Editors who were the most open about what was appropriate were the most likely to believe in strong effects of the media.

For instance, those editors who agreed that identifying gay leaders and celebrities in the newspaper creates role models for young gays and lesbians were most likely to disagree when asked if it would be inappropriate to publish a photo of two gays kissing. (See Table 8) Editors who disagreed that media coverage will not change sentiments of readers also disagreed that AIDS as a cause of death should be omitted in obituaries because AIDS carries a stigma not associated with other diseases. (See Table 9) Editors who disagreed that media coverage won't change sentiments also agreed that, in the obituaries of people with AIDS, a lover should be listed as survivor if the lover or the family requests it. (See Tables 10 and 11)

Editors in the survey were also offered several scenarios and asked, under the circumstances, if they would identify the sexual orientation of the subjects of stories they printed. (For example, they were asked if they agreed or disagreed about publishing the sexual orientation of a gay child-care provider, a political candidate "with nothing to hide," a member of the Supreme Court or the President's cabinet, and the like). Under these scenarios, the editors who felt that identifying gay members of the community can create role models, were also likely to agree that gay health-care workers should be identified. (See Table 12) Editors who felt that identifying gay members of the community can create gay role models also were likely to agree a person's sexual orientation may be indicated in the newspaper if a person "hypocritically supports legislation encouraging discrimination against gays and lesbians or accepts campaign funds from people and groups advocating intolerance of gays and lesbians." (See Table 13)

Few or only very weak relationships could be found between the demographic data obtained and the responses of editors to the four main questions discussed in this project. It does appear, however, that editors with eleven to twenty years of experience on newspapers were the most likely to believe that identifying gays and lesbians in the newspaper can harm them personally and professionally because society is so homophobic. Editors with the most newspaper experience -- more then twenty years, were the least likely to agree with that statement. The remainder of editors surveyed had ten years of newspaper experience or less. (See Table 14).

Discussion

Overall, the editors surveyed believe that if newspapers offer more information about gays and lesbians, they can influence readers' thinking about that subject. They also believed that increased coverage and identification of gays and lesbians in the newspaper can have a positive effect on gay and lesbian readers in that it can provide needed role models for them.

Editors did not deny that homophobia exists in American society although most of them believe that newspapers can help change this view by providing increased and improved information on the subject of gay and lesbian lifestyles and interests. Still, those editors indicated they were reluctant to identify gays and lesbians in the newspaper because it could harm them personally and professionally. This belief, in itself, indicates that editors think their newspapers have an effect on the actions and thoughts of their readers. They said they were reluctant to name gays and lesbians in their newspapers because such identification can lead to harm against them -- action taken as a result of a story that would appear in the newspaper.

The editors who were the most critical of certain aspects of their own newspapers' coverage of gays and lesbians were the most likely to believe that newspapers can have a hand in changing attitudes. This may be due to the fact that those editors are the most sensitive in general to coverage of gays and lesbians, and have paid attention to it in their own newspapers. The editors who were most open to what would be appropriate to publish in their newspapers were also the most likely to believe in the strong effects of the media in increasing tolerance and understanding of gays and lesbians. This, too, is logical. More coverage of gays and lesbians in a variety of capacities is likely to help eliminate any stigma associated with being gay or lesbian. It may reduce the image some may have of gays and lesbians as being "different," editors may believe.

The number of years editors worked on newspapers may also influence their views about coverage. Interestingly, those in the middle range of experience -- editors with eleven to twenty years of newspaper experience -- were the most likely to believe that society is homophobic, and identification of gays and lesbians in the newspaper can harm them. This may be because these editors, many of whom may have been at colleges and universities in the 1960s and 1970s, are more sensitive to the treatment and portrayal of minorities. These editors, unlike the other two groups of editors surveyed, were in college or just beginning in the newspaper business when the great social issues of the late 1960s and early 1970s were occurring, and were young adults during the war in Vietnam, war protests and Watergate. These events may have sensitized them to the often-unpleasant ramifications of non-conformity.

It is encouraging that editors appear to believe that what they publish does have certain effects on readers, and may influence readers' perceptions and behavior. Whether this attitude will eventually affect coverage remains to be seen. This survey indicates, however, that editors, the gatekeepers of what is printed in the newspaper, think they play a role in shaping perceptions and actions of their readers. This very belief in their importance in society cannot help but make them more sensitive to and aware of what appears in their own newspapers. This belief by editors that what they decide each day affects their readers' attitudes may also stir debate and discussion about what should or should not be published. And this debate may extend beyond the newsroom.

Table 1

Editors' views about how newspapers shape perceptions of gays and lesbians, in percent

	Strongly Agree	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Strongly Disagree
The more information readers have about issues and activities of concern to gays and lesbians, the more tolerant our society will become of gay lifestyles	37.3 %	47.5 %	13.4 %	1.8 %
Identifying business leaders, politicians, writers, sports heroes and celebrities as being gay or lesbian provides need positive role models for young gays and lesbians	15.1	54.2	25.5	5.2
Society's sentiments against gays and lesbians are so ingrained that, in the long run, media coverage will do little to change them	5.8	18.3	54.9	21
Society is so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians in any capacity can seriously harm their careers and personal lives	11.3	37.4	45.5	5.9

n=227

Table 2

Editors' view of their newspapers' coverage of gay political activities

		Good n=71	Poor n=161	Row Total
More information about gays and lesbians makes society more tolerant.	Agree	77.5 %	89.7 %	177
	Disagree	22.5	10.3	30

Pearsonian chi square = 5.640 p<.018 Phi=.165
n=207

Table 3

Editors' views over whether their newspapers devote enough space to non-medical concerns of gays and lesbians

		Yes n=95	No n=90	Row Total
Identifying prominent gays and lesbians provides needed role models	Agree	65 %	80 %	134
	Disagree	34	20	51

Pearsonian chi square = 5.027 p<.026 Phi=.165
n=185

Table 4

Editors' views over whether obituaries of people with AIDS should include the name of lover if lover requests it

		Agree n=161	Disagree n=59	Row Total
Society is so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians in any capacity can harm them	Agree	41 %	67 %	106
	Disagree	59	32	114

Pearsonian chi square = 12.424 p<.001 Phi=.238
n=220

Table 5

Editors' views of whether a photo of two gay men holding hands would be inappropriate to publish in their newspapers

		Agree n=24	Disagree n=197	Roow Total
Society is so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians in any capacity can harm them	Agree	70.8 %	45.7 %	107
	Disagree	29.2	54.3	114

Pearsonian chi square = 5.4173 p<.008 Phi=.157
n=221

Table 6

Editors' views about whether publishing a photo of two gay men embracing would be inappropriate in their newspapers

		Agree n=31	Disagree n=190	Row Total
Society is so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians in any capacity can harm them.	Agree	71 %	45.3 %	108
	Disagree	29	54.7	113

Pearsonian chi square=7.047 p<.008 Phi=.179
n=221

Table 7

Editors' views of their newspapers' coverage of violence committed against gays and lesbians

		Good n=68	Poor n=135	Row Total
Society is so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians in any capacity can harm them	Agree	38.2 %	53.3 %	98
	Disagree	61.8	46.7	105

Pearsonian chi square=4.128 p<.042 Phi=.143
n=203

Table 8

Editors' views about whether publishing a photo of two gay men kissing would be inappropriate in their newspapers

		Agree n=52	Disagree n=160	Row Total
Identifying prominent gays and lesbians creates needed role models.	Agree	57.7 %	73.1 %	147
	Disagree	42.3	26.9	65

Pearsonian chi square=4.397 p<.037 Phi=.144
n=212

Table 9

Editors' views over whether in AIDS deaths, obituaries should omit cause of death because AIDS carries a stigma other diseases do not

		Agree n=41	Disagree n=179	Row Total
Media coverage will not change society's sentiments against gays and lesbians.	Agree	41.5 %	20.7 %	54
	Disagree	58.5	79.3	166

Pearsonian chi square=7.787 p<.006 Phi=.188
n=220

Table 10

Editors' views over whether obituaries of people with AIDS should include the lover as a survivor if the family requests it

		Agree n=204	Disagree n=18	Row Total
Media coverage will not change society's sentiments against gays and lesbians	Agree	20.6 %	61.1 %	53
	Disagree	79.4	38.9	169

Pearsonian chi square=14.945 p<.001 Phi=.259
n=222

Table 11

Editors' views over whether obituaries of people with AIDS should include the lover as survivor if lover requests it

Total		Agree n=162	Disagree n=60	Row Total
Media coverage will not change society's sentiments against gays and lesbians	Agree	18.5 %	40 %	54
	Disagree	81.5	60	168

Pearsonian chi square=10.976 p<.001 Phi=.222
n=222

Table 12

Editors' views over whether it would be appropriate for their newspapers to identify gay health-care workers

		Agree n=135	Disagree n=74	Row Total
Identification of prominent gays and lesbians creates needed role models	Agree	74.8 %	58.1 %	144
	Disagree	25.2	41.9	65

Pearsonian chi square=6.226 p<.013
n=209

Table 13

Editors' views over whether newspapers should print the sexual orientation of someone who has hypocritically supported groups advocating intolerance of gays and lesbians

		Agree n=184	Disagree n=27	Row Total
Identification of prominent gays and lesbians creates needed role models	Agree	72.8 %	48.1 %	147
	Disagree	27.2	51.9	64

Pearsonian chi square=6.786 p<.010 Phi=.173
n=211

Table 14

		Years of experience on newspapers			
		10 or less n=33	11-20 n=130	21 or more n=59	Row Total
Society is so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians in any capacity can harm them.	Agree	51.5 %	41.5 %	62.7 %	108
	Disagree	48.5	58.5	37.3	114

Pearsonian chi square=7.410 $p<.025$ Cramer's V=.183
n=222

References

1. This study was supported in part with funding from the Bush Research Center, Ohio University, Guido H. Stempel, III, director.

2. Numerous articles and studies have been done on this subject. One of the best recent resources is a special issue of *Newspaper Research Journal* devoted to diversity in newspapers. See *Newspaper Research Journal*, 11:3, 1990.

3. Much has been written in research and popular publications about media coverage of AIDS. See, for example, James Kinsella's, *Covering the Plague*, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press), 1989, Randy Shilts', *And the Band Played On: Politics, People and the AIDS Epidemic*, (New York: St. Martin's Press), 1987; Larry Gross', "Out of the Mainstream: Sexual Minorities in the Mass Media," in Ellen Seiter, Hans Borchers and Gabriele Kreutzner and Eva-Marie Warth, *Remote Control: Television Audiences and Cultural Power*, (New York: Routledge), 1989; and other articles such as Ransdell Pierson's, "Uptight about Gay News," *Columbia Journalism Review*, March/April 1982, pp. 25-33.

4. Harold Lasswell, in his *Propaganda Techniques in the World War*, (New York: Knopf), 1927, was one of the first to find powerful effects of the media on audiences. Others who later found more limited effects were Elihu Katz and Paul Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence: The Part Played by the People in the Flow of Mass Communication*, (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press), 1955; and Bernard Berelson, "The State of Communication Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 12 (1959), p. 1-7.; and Joseph Klapper, *The Effects of Mass Communication*, (New York: Free Press), 1960. George Gerbner's research over the last two decades into the effects of media violence on children has also indicated definite but limited effects of the media, with other social factors contributing. See Gerbner and Larry Gross, "Living with Television: The Violence Profile," *Journal of Communication*, 26, (1976), pp. 173-199.

5. Kinsella, *op. cit.*

6. For more on this topic see the Gannett Foundation Media Center's Special Report, "AIDS Coverage in the 1990s: The Second Decade," (New York: Columbia University), 1991.

7. Kinsella is quoted here in the Gannett Center Report, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

8. Joseph is quoted here in the Gannett Center Report, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

9. See Larry Gross, "Out of the Mainstream: Sexual Minorities in the Mass Media", in Seiter, Borcher, Kreutzner, Warth, et. al.,op. cit.

10. The American Society of Newspaper Editors conducted an extensive study of opinions of gay journalists about their newspapers' coverage of gay and lesbian issues, and about their views of newsroom attitudes about gays and lesbians. See the ASNE report, "Alternatives: Gays and Lesbians in the Newsroom," (Washington: Human Resources Committee Report), 1990. See also Pierson's article in Columbia Journalism Review, op. cit.

11. Shilts, Kinsella and other assert this. See Covering the Plague, op. cit. and And the Band Played On, op. cit..

EFFECTS OF STAFF GENDER ON NEWSPAPER CONTENT

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Since Molotch's description of newspapers as "men talking to men"[1] and Tuchman's observation of the "symbolic annihilation" of women, where they are either condemned, trivialized or absent from media content,[2] studies have focused on the under-representation and stereotypical representation of women in print news. Research consistently shows that few women are considered worthy of news coverage.

Jolliffe, for example, found that women are not given equal space in the *New York Times*, nor is the "proportion of their working world activities accurately reflected in newspaper coverage of women."[3] Miller has shown that newspaper photographs are most likely to depict women as spouses and socialites.[4]

Blackwood's replication of Miller's 1974 study involving *Washington Post* and *New York Times* photographic coverage indicated that a greater disparity had occurred during the ensuing seven years, between women's real life roles and the one's portrayed in these newspapers. "Despite efforts of the women's movement and alleged efforts by these papers to expand their coverage of women, the disparity is greater now than in 1974. The portrayal of women's roles in *Post* and *Times* news photos has failed to keep pace with advances in our society."[5]

Davis has shown that women are more likely to be identified by personal information, such as "attire, physical description, marital or parental status and by subjective adjectives," while men are more likely identified by their occupation.[6]

Other studies have focused on the need for greater diversity in the newsroom. This research consistently shows the field as dominated by white males, especially the top positions. Wilson, for example, has found that women hold only six percent of newspaper publishing positions. "Men choose the messages, men determine what is news....The messages the American people receive pass through a male filter."[7]

McLean found that women hold "barely one-tenth of the decision-making positions on U.S. daily newspapers."[8] In an earlier related study, Catlett found that women are most likely to be employed as reporters at weekly newspapers and least likely to be editors at daily newspapers with circulation greater than 100,000.[9] Holly has also shown that women have more management opportunities on weekly newspapers.[10]

There has been some attempt to study how news content may be influenced by the gender of reporters and editors. Turk, for example, found that student reporters appeared to treat female sources differently than male ones. Male reporters described female sources in more "personal" terms than they did male sources, while female reporters treated sources more "evenly."[11]

Whitlow has shown that the selection and handling given a news item is influenced by the gender and "to a lesser degree" by the role of the news character. "When the news principal is female, the newsworthiness of the item diminishes among gatekeepers of both sexes."[12]

The present research looked at the difference between print news content produced by a majority female news-editorial staff versus that produced by a majority male news-editorial staff. While Davis's study wasn't methodologically replicated, some of her variables were borrowed to see how they measured when the additional independent variable of news-editorial staff gender was introduced.

Davis concluded in her 1982 study that "newspapers pretty much ignore 51 percent of the population---women." None of the eight newspapers she analyzed "did a good job portraying women." "Bias was pervasive, indicating that newspaper editors, whether they be male or female, have little sensitivity toward women."[13]

In addition to Davis' assessment that women were identified more often by personal information and men more often by their occupation, she found that men were eight times more likely to be the main character in Page 1 stories; three times more likely to be the author of Page 1 stories and almost five times more likely to be quoted in news stories than women were.[14]

With these variables in mind, the present research addressed two broad research questions:

1) Do more women characters appear in the front-page articles of a newspaper that has a majority-female news-editorial staff?

2) Are women characters portrayed more favorably in the front-page articles of a newspaper that has a majority-female news-editorial staff?

Method

Since a majority female news-editorial staff is unlikely at large metropolitan daily newspapers,[15] two daily Missouri newspapers with circulation under 10,000 were selected for this study: The *Fulton Sun* (female-published) with a news-editorial staff consisting of five women (three reporters, two editors) and three men (two editors, one reporter) and the Flat River *Daily Journal* (male-published) with a news-editorial staff consisting of eight men (six reporters, two editors) and three women (two reporters, one editor). Page 1 stories published during a constructed week (October 1991) were analyzed:[16] Sun., Oct. 13; Mon., Oct. 28; Tues., Oct 1; Wed., Oct. 23; Thurs., Oct. 31; Fri., Oct. 11; Sat., Oct. 5.[17]

Coding noted: 1) the gender of each article's main character, 2) the gender of each quoted source, 3) why each character---male and female---was in the news, 4) whether men or women were identified by personal information such as attire, physical description or marital-parental description, 5) whether women were identified by marital status (Miss, Mrs.) on second reference and 6) the gender of each byline.

The hypotheses were:

1) More stories would feature women as main characters in a newspaper where women out-number men as reporters and editors.

2) Women would be quoted more often in a newspaper where women out-number men as reporters and editors.

3) Women would be identified less often by personal information, and their marital status (Miss, Mrs.) would less likely be identified in a newspaper where women out-number men as reporters and editors.

4) More women would be in the news because of their occupation in a newspaper where women out-number men as reporters and editors.

5) Women would get more front-page bylines in a newspaper where women out-number men as reporters and editors.

Results

Data relating to Research Question No. 1---Do more women characters appear in the articles of a newspaper with a majority-female news-editorial staff?---indicate there were almost an equal number of female and male main characters in the 36 front-page articles of the female-published *Fulton Sun*. While in the 30 front-page articles of the male-published *Daily Journal*, there were nine times as many male main characters as there were female main characters. (See Table 1)

TABLE 1

Main Character Gender

	Male	Female
Fulton Sun (female staff) N=27*	51.9%	48.1%
Daily Journal (male staff) N=30	90.0%[a]	10.0%[a]

Chi Sq.=35.214
with Yate's Correction=33.390
$p<.001$

* 9 front-page stories here had no byline and were deleted from total N.
[a] significant difference within column

Quote attribution was about the same in both newspapers, with those attributed to female sources accounting for just over 25 percent in both the *Fulton Sun* and the *Daily Journal* (n=127 and n=104, respectively). (See Table 2)

TABLE 2

Quote Attribution Gender

	Male	Female
Fulton Sun (female staff) N=127	74.0%	26.0%
Daily Journal (male staff) N=104	71.2%	28.8%

Chi Sq.=.197, n.s.

Both newspapers had about the same total number of women compared to men in the news, and this was almost identical to the quote attribution breakdown where about three times as many men characters were quoted.

Data relating to Research Question No. 2---Are women characters portrayed more favorably in the articles of a newspaper with a majority-female news-editorial staff?---indicate that the female-published *Fulton Sun* never identified women by personal information such as attire, physical description or marital-parental description, but did identify one man by his marital status (Elizabeth Taylor's eighth husband, Larry Fortensky). The male-published *Daily Journal*, however, identified women 14 times by personal information, mostly marital descriptions. The *Daily Journal* identified women by their marital status (Miss, Mrs.) on second reference 9 times, while the *Fulton Sun* did this only one time.

All of the women characters in the female-published *Fulton Sun* were in the news because of their occupation. By contrast, of the women characters in the male-published *Daily Journal*, 42 percent were in the news because of their occupation, 37 percent because of crime and 21 percent because they were someone's child, spouse or parent. (See Tables 3a and 3b)

TABLE 3a

Reason for Being in the News By Newspaper

Fulton Sun (female staff)	Occupation	Crime	As Child/Spouse/Parent
Men N=77	98.7%	0.0%	1.3%
Women N=28	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%

Assumptions for Chi Sq. test not met.

Daily Journal (male staff)	Occupation	Crime	As Child/Spouse/Parent
Men N=74	86.5%	12.2%	1.3%
Women N=19	42.1%*a*	36.8%*a*	21.1%*a*

Chi Sq.=45.181
p<.001

a significant difference within column

TABLE 3b

Reason for Being in the News By Gender

Men	Occupation	Crime	As Child/Spouse/Parent
Fulton Sun (female staff) N=77	98.7%	0.0%	1.3%
Daily Journal (male staff) N=74	86.5%	12.2%[a]	1.3%

Chi Sq.=13.004
p<.001

a significant difference within column

Women	Occupation	Crime	As Child/Spouse/Parent
Fulton Sun (female staff) N=28	100.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Daily Journal (male staff) N=19	42.1%[a]	36.8%[a]	21.1%[a]

Chi Sq.=81.492
p<.001

a significant difference within column

Female bylines accounted for over half of the front-page stories containing bylines in the *Fulton Sun*, but not one front-page byline in the *Daily Journal* was a female's. (See Table 4)

TABLE 4

Byline Gender

	Male	Female	Both	None
Fulton Sun (female staff) N=36	19.4%	27.7%	2.8%	50.0%
Daily Journal (male staff) N=31	29.0%	0.0%[a]	0.0%	71.0%

Chi Sq.=36.049
a significant difference within column

Discussion and Conclusions

Data for this study came from a constructed week of only two small daily newspapers' front pages. Therefore, results must be considered, and conclusions drawn within this limited framework. Nevertheless, data do suggest that differences exist in the two newspapers' treatment of women. The female-published *Fulton Sun*---with a majority-female news-editorial staff---reflected a more equal treatment of women in its news content than the male-published (Flat River) *Daily Journal*---with a majority-male news-editorial staff.

Gender did appear to make a difference in the content of these two newspapers. Even though this study wasn't an attempt to replicate Davis' 1979 study, the sexual bias she identified in her analysis was also identified in the majority male *Daily Journal* analyzed here. In fact, the *Journal* exhibited more sexual bias than Davis recognized 9 years earlier. And while the majority-female *Fulton Sun* was not completely positive in its portrayal of female news characters, it did a much better job.

The *Sun*'s majority-female gatekeepers featured almost an equal number of female and male main characters in the Page 1 stories analyzed. The *Journal*'s majority-male gatekeepers, on the other hand, featured nine times as many male main characters as female! Davis' 1982 analysis indicated an eight to one, male to female ratio for front-page main characters.

All the women in the *Fulton Sun's* stories were there because of their occupation. However, only 42 percent of the female characters in the majority-male *Journal*'s stories were there because of their occupations, the others were in the news because of crime or because of their spouse or parents. This is completely consistent with Davis' finding that women are less likely to be identified by their occupation.

The *Sun*'s majority-female gatekeepers never identified their female characters by personal traits, and only once identified a woman's marital status on second reference. This is not consistent with Davis' finding that women are likely to be identified in the news by personal traits regardless of the gender of the gatekeepers. Furthermore, it suggests that the women gatekeepers here were less sexist in their portrayals than the majority-male gatekeepers who identified female news characters 14 times using sexist labeling.

Female reporters authored more front-page news stories at the female-majority *Sun* than male reporters did. While this finding seems obvious since female reporters were the majority there, it nonetheless defies Davis' finding that men are three times more likely to author front page stories than women are. No female reporters authored front-page news stories at the majority-male *Journal*, even though two female reporters were on staff there. A more in-depth analysis that involves other variables, such as beat assignments, expertise, etc. may be necessary before sexist bias can be inferred from this finding. It is, however, consistent with Davis' front-page byline finding.

No differences were noted for quote attribution gender in the two newspapers. Both quoted male sources about three times more often than they quoted female ones. Both newspapers had about the same number of total male and female characters in the news, and men again out-numbered women about three times. These findings aren't consistent with the observed trend of better female treatment by the majority-female *Fulton Sun* and seem difficult to explain. If an equal number of female main characters were featured in the *Fulton Sun*, why weren't an equal number of women as total characters noted as well? And, why weren't an equal number quoted?

The fact that society isn't equal---as reflected, for example, by majority-male business and political leaders---might be one explanation. Since front-page news generally falls into the categories of politics, crime or sports where men are overwhelmingly the major players, it's not too surprising they were three times more likely to be quoted and three times more likely in be in the news at all.

Therefore in an unequal society, it could be considered significant that the majority-female gatekeepers at the *Fulton Sun* were successfully able to offer news articles with an equal number of women as main characters. It is just good journalism on their part, however, that they focused on women as business and political leaders, instead of women as spouses, children or parents. Quality reporting accounted also for the fact that they didn't trivialize women by identifying personal information.

Is this heightened sensitivity and awareness of equal treatment of women in media content due to the gender of the gatekeeper? It's a tough question to answer with so limited research in this area. More research is certainly necessary here, especially studies that focus on female controlled content to determine if sexist bias is as pervasive here as has been shown in general news content.

The *Fulton Sun* featuring a more equal number of women main characters may be due to more women as political and business leaders in the Fulton community, which was somewhat observed during the analysis. Was the *Sun*, therefore, merely reflecting its society that may be a very different one than Flat Rivers' that seemed to have more male community leaders? This leads, of course, to the chicken and egg issue of whether news content merely reflects society or may have a hand in influencing it. Further research involving an in-depth content analysis of local political coverage in these communities to study what influences---if any---the majority-female control at

Fulton Sun versus the majority-male control at the *Daily Journal* may have had in determining community leadership is certainly warranted.

Regardless of the difficulties in suggesting a causal relationship between news-editorial staff gender and content, attempts by the print news media to equalize male and female gatekeeping is certainly a step in the right direction toward the equal portrayal of women and men in news content. A step that the print industry just can't afford to ignore in these times of declining readership.[18]

1. Harvey L. Molotch, "The News of Women and Work of Men," in Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels and James Benet, eds., *Hearth and Home* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 180.

2. Gaye Tuchman, "The Symbolic Annihilation of Women by the Mass Media," in *Hearth and Home*, p. 8.

3. Lee Jolliffe, "Comparing Gender Differentiation in the *New York Times*, 1885 and 1985," *Journalism Quarterly*, 66:683-91 (Autumn 1989).

4. Susan Miller, "The Content of News Photos: Women's and Men's Roles," *Journalism Quarterly*, 42:70-75 (Spring 1975).

5. Roy E. Blackwood, "The Content of News Photos: Roles Portrayed by Men and Women," *Journalism Quarterly* 60:710-15 (Winter 1983).

6. Junetta Davis, "Sexist Bias in Eight Newspapers," *Journalism Quarterly*, 59:456-460 (Autumn 1982).

7. Jean Gaddy Wilson, "Taking Stock: Women in the Media Before the 21st Century," a paper presented to the Women, Men and Media conference (Washington, D.C. April 10, 1989).

8. Cheryl R. McLean, "The Status of Women Newspaper Executives: A Ten-Year Benchmark Study," *Journalism Abstracts*, 23:61.

9. Terri Catlett, "Women Employed as Reporters and Editors at Selected U.S. Daily and Weekly Newspapers," unpublished manuscript, Oklahoma State University School of Journalism and Broadcasting, July 1991.

10. Susan Holly, "Women in Management of Weeklies," *Journalism Quarterly* 56:810-15 (Winter 1979).

11. Judy Van Slyke Turk, "Sex-Role Stereotyping in Writing the News: Another Look at the Influence of Reporter and Source Gender," *Southwestern Mass Communication Journal*, 2:32-43.

12. S. Scott Whitlow, "How Male and Female Gatekeepers Respond to News Stories of Women," *Journalism Quarterly* 54:573-579 (Autumn 1977).

13. Op. cit., p. 459.

14. Op. cit., p. 458.

15. For example, see Catlett loc. cit. and Wilson loc. cit.

16. Page 1 news only was selected because a determination of how women were treated in a newspaper's "most important" news was sought.

17. This constructed week was borrowed from Davis loc. cit. However, since the *Daily Journal* is published six times weekly and the *Fulton Sun* five times, adjustments in the constructed week were necessary. Six issues of the *Daily Journal* were analyzed, Sunday through Friday, and six issues of the *Fulton Sun* were analyzed, Tuesday through Saturday and an additional randomly selected sixth day, Sat., Oct. 26.

18. See for example, "The Newspaper Recession, The Cyclical Trough is Masking a 'Secular Slide,'" Newsletter, Media/Communications Services Group, Alex, Brown & Sons, July 9, p. 3.

CONSTRUCTING GAY DEATH IN THE NEWSPAPER

Three Stories of Men With AIDS

Qualitative Studies Division:
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Abstract:

Three extended newspaper projects about gay men with AIDS, published in 1987, 1989 and 1990-91, revealed relevant variations in the ways the deaths of gay men were constructed. The accounts studied were "AIDS in the Heartland" from the St. Paul Pioneer Press Dispatch, "The Tom Fox Story" from the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and "Living With AIDS," a series of columns by a gay man with AIDS published by The Seattle Times. The earliest of the tributes emphasized the impact of AIDS in a traditional family and community; the second recognized some of the special attributes of a gay man's identity in the gay community; the third, the only one written by a gay person, added substantial depth to the understanding of the diversity of the community of people affected by AIDS. Viewed on a continuum, the three pieces reflect maturing reportorial respect for the voices of people directly affected by AIDS. The paper examines both the reporting processes and the content of the three projects.

CONSTRUCTING GAY DEATH IN THE NEWSPAPER

Three Stories of Men With AIDS

Introduction:

Dick Hanson was a political organizer and advocate in a rural town in west central Minnesota. His partner, Bert Henningson, taught university classes in the same region. Robert O'Boyle's by-line appeared on stories in the daily newspaper in his hometown of Walla Walla, Washington. Tom Fox sold classified advertising for The Atlanta Journal-Constitution.

Of the four, Hanson probably was best known in his own region. An activist in the Minnesota Democratic Farmer Labor Party, he had campaigned for party liberals from Eugene McCarthy to Jesse Jackson. He, with his neighbors, had fought farm foreclosures; he had been arrested five times and had fasted to try to block a high-voltage power line. O'Boyle, a young reporter learning to direct a considerable talent, was only beginning to attract the attention of readers in southeast Washington state. Fox and Henningson were the least visible of the four.

All four were white men, all productively filling occupational and social roles said to be useful in their society. They were alike in other ways: Each man was gay and lived with that identity in relative comfort and openness. Probably sometime in the 1980s, during sexual intercourse, Hanson, Henningson, O'Boyle and Fox were infected with a virus that slowly but certainly worked its will on their immune systems in ways that committed them to suffer frequent painful and devastating illnesses. At the same time, it ravaged their bodies internally and on the surface. All four died -- Hanson on July 25, 1987, at the age of 37; Henningson on May 19, 1988, at the age of 41; Fox on July 11, 1989, at the age of 33, and O'Boyle on January 6, 1992, at the age of 32.

Their lives would have been memorialized only among those who knew them well had it not been for the intervention of three newspapers. The four men were the subjects of three extraordinary journalistic tributes, extended, eloquent and affecting descriptions of their experiences with AIDS. By virtue of their exceptional depth, the reports took their places in a pantheon of newspaper tributes and memorials for presidents and towering public figures, for war leaders and beloved athletes and entertainers, and for a small number of persons who, like the four modest men, were remembered mostly for courageous responses to tragic events.1

The tributes took two forms, each a traditional way for newspapers to tell about the lives of persons of special interest. In two cases, newspapers assigned accomplished reporter and photographer teams to cover the men for the final months of their lives. Jacqui Banaszynski, a special projects reporter for the St. Paul Pioneer Press Dispatch, wrote about Hanson and Henningson in two lengthy installments published before Hanson died, a third published soon after his death, and a fourth, mostly about Henningson, in April 1988, a month before his death. All were published in Sunday editions and each installment was illustrated by many large, intimate color or black-and-white photographs by Jean Pieri. Banaszynski and Pieri had collaborated two years earlier on coverage of famine in The Sudan. After winning a Pulitzer Prize for the first three installments of the AIDS series, the newspaper assembled all of the coverage in a 22-page reprint.

The Atlanta Journal and Constitution published Fox's story in a 16-page section on Sunday, August 20, 1989, slightly more than a month after his death. The account was written by Steve Sternberg, a medical writer for more than a decade, and generously illustrated with striking photos by Michael Schwarz, a staff photographer.

In contrast, O'Boyle, an experienced and talented writer, was invited by editors of The Seattle Times to write a bi-weekly Sunday column about his own life with AIDS. He began that column on June 17, 1990, and missed only a few times because of hospitalization or taking time for more extended reporting. His final contribution, written in the hospital bed in which he died, was published on December 29, 1991.

Large numbers of readers responded to the stories of the three men. After O'Boyle's death, hundreds of people called The Seattle Times to record their comments, and editors of the newspaper published a collection of the columns to benefit

Seattle support groups for people with AIDS.

The three tributes provide a rich resource for examining the journalistic constructions of AIDS and of gay men, the group in the United States most afflicted by AIDS in the first few years after its identification early in the 1980s. The articles yielded information about how journalists and their newspapers made claims for understanding the experience of gay men enduring AIDS. In two stories, the men's claims were relayed through, and substantially affected by, the reporter and photojournalist. Only in the case of O'Boyle was a man with AIDS deciding to any great extent how the claims would be made.

Such claims are the raw material of critical analysis; to the extent that readers are shielded from direct contact with the AIDS crisis, they are dependent on being informed by the claims that are made about it.2 "Claims-making," as manifest in these projects, presents two "surfaces" for observation: First, the process of producing the projects is intrinsic to the claims they make. The newspaper articles give testimony about many influences, but they are most essentially results of the production process. The practices of a newspaper, those institutionalized processes of creating meanings in the final product, may contain, it has been suggested, the ethical character of the organization.3 Second, the language of the tributes (text, photograph, graphic and layout) is the substance of the claims. Thus, one must simply read the newspaper (in the most expansive sense of "read") to discern the claims it makes.

All three accounts assert a preoccupation with the linkage of sexuality and death. In contradiction of the attention paid to the lives of the four men, the journalism in all cases focuses on death and dying, on a particular form of dying defined by age, by gender and by sexual history. This paper is an examination of the three accounts and of the ways the claims about gay men dying of AIDS were made for readers.

Synopses:

Dick Hanson and Bert Henningson, "AIDS in the Heartland": In the first chapter, published June 21, 1987, Banaszynski used a set of snapshots of the two men, taken over the nearly five years of their relationship, to set the stage for a story about Hanson's fight with AIDS-related diseases and Henningson's stalwart support. The text attributes Hanson's infection vaguely to "casual weekend sex at the gay bathhouse in Minneapolis" or to "limited and 'safe' sex" outside their relationship. Hanson is shown as a political activist, respected by state party leaders, as a serious Christian, welcome and active in his local Lutheran church, and inclined to see his life at one with a divine scheme. "'I'd like to think that God has a special purpose for my life,' he said." Henningson is a subordinate figure in the first installment, although he is shown in the roles of teacher, intellectual and care-giver. Their relationship is traced, and its tight bond emphasized by mention of Henningson's acceptance by Hanson's mother. The chapter touches briefly on Hanson's therapy, but concentrates on the routines and interaction of Hanson and Henningson on their farm. It closes by saying that Henningson, too, carries the AIDS virus.

The second chapter, published July 12, 1987, examines Hanson's relationship with members of his family. His mother had died, and his father tried clumsily to draw closer to a dying son. The father, four of five sons and a daughter gather to talk about Dick Hanson, obviously at the request of the reporter. Family members divide in their loyalty and support, some expressing fear or anger over the attention Hanson is drawing to them. The article then widens its beam to examine similar divisions in Hanson's church and community.

"The Final Chapter" appeared on August 9, 1987, two weeks and a day after Hanson's death. It told of his last days, his death and his memorial service a week later. In its details, it echoed themes of the earlier chapters, Henningson's dedicated support and deep wounds over Hanson's death in the family and community. The closing page reflects on Henningson's failing health.

"The Epilogue" was published eight months later, on April 3, 1988, and told of Henningson's struggle with his grief and with his own ravaged immune system. It is clear that he was near death and that he, unlike his partner, fostered no divisions in his family. "They faced their grief as a complete family . . . ."

"When AIDS Comes Home; The Life and Death of Tom Fox": The Atlanta Journal and Constitution waited until August 20, 1989, nearly six weeks after Tom Fox's death, to tell its readers of his struggle with broken health and severe debilitating illness over nearly two years. For 16 of those 20 months -- for more than 1,000 hours, Fox had been a willing confidant and companion of the reporter and photographer.

The top half of the front page of the special section showed Schwarz's unforgettable photograph of the family at the bedside as Fox died in a Eugene, Oregon, hospital. The text in the lower half of the page describes the final 20 minutes of his life, ending moments after a doctor removed a ventilator tube from his nostril. The balance of the section narrates Fox's story in three chapters.

The first chapter, "Living High -- and Then a Diagnosis," introduces Fox as a young gay who had moved to Atlanta from Bloomington, Indiana, and explored actively the sexual freedom the emerging gay center offered. In seeking treatment for drug dependency, Fox found he was infected with the AIDS virus. The chapter explores the heterosexual and homosexual impulses of his youth and introduces his parents and family, people forced by his illness to confront their own condition, "a constellation of strangers living concentric lives."

"AZT and The Normal Life" places Fox in the context of an Atlanta gay community decimated by the plague of AIDS -- Fox was to count the deaths of more than 100 friends as he anticipated his own. Fox and his friends are described taking treatment, meeting in support groups, traveling to Washington, D.C., in October, 1988, for the AIDS memorial quilt, and making arrangements for their own funerals.

The final chapter, "The Long Road Home," tells of Fox's decision to visit Oregon and a long-time friend, a woman Fox had been close to since high school. Painful stops at hospitals in Portland and Eugene are separated by brief joyful and reflective times on the coast. The chapter is a study in relationships, of Fox to the woman, her husband and son, of Fox to his parents and brothers, and, between the lines, of Fox to the ever-present, but rarely mentioned reporter and photographer. The chapter concludes with Fox's death.

"Living With AIDS -- Robert O'Boyle": The column format allowed O'Boyle to inspect the impact of AIDS through many lenses, some intensely personal and others not much different from conventional reporting. His opening column, for instance, noted the fearful responses of doctors, nurses and even friends who knew he carried the virus. In other pieces, he reflected on his own anger, and told of his reckless and painful abandon, riding and being tossed by a mechanical bull in a brothel in Mexico. O'Boyle over several columns gave readers some insight into his close relationship with a man who had died about the time he was first diagnosed with AIDS-related symptoms.

Many of his columns responded to people who had written letters, more often those who challenged his right to speak than those who accepted the value of his commentaries. Irritated by religious attackers, he returned frequently to them, less to answer them than to remind others of their tenacity, numbers and nastiness.

O'Boyle sometimes told of other persons engaged in surviving despite AIDS, merging his own reflections with the comments and stories of others. He also wrote frequently about drugs used in treatment of various AIDS-related diseases, including a limited trial of a new drug in which he participated -- and for which he held extraordinary hope -- in the final months of his life. In many of the columns, death was the central issue; over 18 months, O'Boyle tangled with the topic many times. Probably no column was as eloquent in defining the matter as one published two weeks before his death. "We dance like swordfighters, enemies in a pas de deux, deftly evading strikes and forever poised to deliver a fatal blow. . . . AIDS won a round this month, but the duel isn't over. We will remain unwilling partners and forever perform our ritualistic dance with swords, until death do we part."

Commentary (The Process):

The news media ignored AIDS in the two years it became a crisis in public health, 1981 to 1983, then in the next two years provided modest coverage filtered largely through scientific sources. Numerous sources trace the beginning of humanistic reporting about AIDS to the disclosure in 1985 that the actor, Rock Hudson, suffered from and died of related diseases.4 It is primarily since Hudson's death in 1985 that the media have occasionally focused on the individuals who have experienced AIDS. Television dramas, motion pictures, books (both fictional and biographical), plays, and magazines have looked at the epidemic through aggregates of affected persons or through the lens of the solitary life.

The former choice revealed the diversity of impact; shortly after Hanson's death, on August 10, 1987, Newsweek showed his face among those of 302 men, women and children who had died in the AIDS epidemic. Intensity of impact could best be shown through the profile of a single person. Logically, the single life revealed in profile could tell a great deal about abiding the disease that aggregate statistics could not. Equally logically, the single life would have to reflect -- and take into account -- facets of the social context of the AIDS epidemic. In that sense, each profile could testify to much more than the ravages of the disease; it could challenge the reporter to decide how to address publicly what in many cases had been profoundly private. What claims would such journalistic treatment make about gay men with AIDS?

Two women, a reporter and a photographer, produced the 1987 St. Paul study, the earliest of the three accounts studied for this paper. Two years later, an Atlanta reporter-photographer team of two men, neither gay, accompanied for months and produced the story of a fellow employee. In 1990, a Seattle newspaper employed a gay man, previously diagnosed with AIDS, to write in his own voice. The three cases speak symbolically of a movement in newspapers in the past seven years toward embracing people affected by AIDS. At some point since 1985, many newspapers have begun to supplement AIDS coverage filtered largely through medical and governmental sources with stories in which people with AIDS are described or, even better, allowed to speak.

The Hanson tribute in 1987 and the Fox story in 1989 differ markedly in the degree of candor about gay identities and sexual behavior. Where Banaszynski touched lightly on the gay bathhouses, where Hanson probably was infected, Sternberg wrote in much fuller detail of the sexual and social character of Atlanta's gay community. The emergent specificity about gay sexuality, a subject treated almost universally as a criminal or deviant behavior or as a cause of violence in the American newspaper before 1980, paralleled a media invasion of the previously private realm of sexual behavior by political figures. Gary Hart's collapse as a presidential candidate early in the 1988 campaign testified to the extent to which news media had staked their claim to probe private sexual behavior. The rising activism of lesbians and gays, often around political-rights issues and AIDS, and the sometimes jarring militancy of ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), the AIDS-advocacy group founded in 1987, and Queer Nation, a confrontational gay group, have forced journalists to use new frames to show people who had for a long time been viewed only as pariahs. The extent of the sea change in newspaper bias is suggested by publication of the first industry study of gay and lesbian newsroom employees in April 1990, the formation in 1991 of the National Lesbian and Gay Journalists Association and the holding of its first national convention in San Francisco in June 1992.[5]

The Atlanta study drew new sexual boundaries not apparent in the St. Paul profiles, and the Atlanta journalists also self-consciously defied a newsroom convention against emotional commitments to the people they reported about. Sternberg and Schwarz later testified they had crossed the journalistic line of detachment throughout the reporting process, although the initial newspaper profile of Tom Fox said little about this. A week after the publication of the Fox story, the Atlanta newspaper printed two unusual pieces, one a letter from Fox's friend since high school, Bonny Barr Baratta, and the other a confessional piece by Sternberg about how close he and Schwarz had been to

Fox. Baratta wrote that she "was disturbed by the extent of the reporter's 'objectivity,' as it left myriad emotions and events unacknowledged." She went on:

> I watched this reporter and photographer diligently take notes and photographs; and I also watched them curse in anger, tremble in fear and pace the hospital corridors in anxious waiting with the rest of Tom's "significant others."
>
> During the course of Tom's illness they both expressed unease and discomfort about the extent of their emotional attachment to him.
>
> "Do I have a right to cry?" Steve Sternberg asked me one night. I believe they do have a right to their feelings and it is precisely that emotional connection that enabled them to do justice to the story of Tom Fox. . . .[6]

In a lengthy article, Sternberg acknowledged the depth of their bond with Fox. "We learned that the rules had to be written as we went along -- rules that would somehow strike a balance between the demands of journalism and the responsiblity for compassion."[7]

The bond was much more than the source of the grief they showed at Fox's dying; Sternberg and Schwarz had made room in their lives for Fox over a long period, helped him in numerous ways when his lover or his friends, many of whom had died or were sick, failed to provide that support, and shaped with him a contract of sorts for the extended close association of two journalists and a dying man. When Fox invited only the photographer to his parents' home for what he knew would be his last Christmas, Schwarz and Sternberg enforced the contract so the reporter would be included: "Tom had to recognize that the words we'd use in his legacy were as important as the photographs."[8] Schwarz and Sternberg made Fox's funeral arrangements, planned a memorial service and served as intermediary with medical personnel. The day before he died, Fox insisted that the hospital staff give the journalists the run of his room: "They've got a story to finish."

The Atlanta journalists recognized they had found a new style of reporting about the gay community. A conventional cross-over of a straight journalist into a gay context implied no more than doing what they did -- interviewing, observing and writing. When they added the role of care-givers to their work, they also became connected differently to Fox and to his family and circle of gay friends. The process chipped away innumerable times at the barrier wall that keeps reporters from empathy with the people about whom they report. Schwarz, on first meeting Fox, hesitated to shake the hand of a man with AIDS, then stifled his fear. Schwarz and Sternberg tagged along with Fox to a gay bar where the owner provided the ultimate compliment, after discovering the two were not a couple and weren't even gay, "God, I would never have told you what I told you just now."[9]

If there is an impulse toward empathy in contemporary AIDS reporting, in at least a few cases it is toward giving a greater voice to those persons directly affected by the epidemic. This means not only that journalists let the people in their stories speak, but that the speeches sample reasonably the universe of the person's life. Banaszynski let Hanson and Henningson speak about their home and relationship, family, religion, vocation, being gay and the experience of AIDS. Sternberg allowed Fox less of a voice on many matters, although it is clear that the man with AIDS "spoke" through Sternberg by guiding what and who Sternberg wrote about and Schwarz photographed. Although both

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accounts are about gay men, neither offers the distinctly gay voice one finds in Robert O'Boyle's columns.

An inventive reporter, O'Boyle found many perspectives for his work, some missing from the two other studies. O'Boyle frequently mentioned suicide as part of his thinking or of his friends; the subject is scarcely mentioned in the other accounts. He widened the sweep of his column to include people who didn't realistically fit the narrow profile formats used in St. Paul and Atlanta -- a homeless, illiterate black man with AIDS, a married couple infected with the virus (the husband with AIDS symptoms) and an infected gay man who was charged with endangering male prostitutes. The columns reflect O'Boyle's gay awareness and that of many of the people about whom he wrote. Because he was a newcomer to Seattle at the time of his diagnosis, he had less to say about the gay social or political community than about the AIDS-support network in the city.

Terry Tazioli, the editor of the section in which O'Boyle's columns appeared, guided the young writer with his enthusiasm, editing and personal support. Like Sternberg and Schwarz, he also crossed the false line of journalistic detachment. As O'Boyle's health worsened, Tazioli buoyed the writer, helped the family, and diverted the struggling man's frustration into some of his most effective columns. Tazioli also helped the family plan O'Boyle's memorial service and then conducted it. Warren King, the newspaper's medical reporter, first spotted O'Boyle as a potential columnist, and continued to provide encouragement and aid.

All three newspapers chose to offer the AIDS profiles at times when their managements were particularly open to such humane journalism. Two years before she wrote the Hanson and Henningson stories, Banaszynski had covered the famine and refugee crisis in the Eastern Region of Sudan. The coverage, nominated for a Pulitzer, helped define Banaszynski as a specialist in reporting extraordinary events and conditions. Her emergence into a relatively small national corps of such reporters coincided with the growing awareness among journalists that the AIDS story required attention to the people affected by it -- that is, to its humanistic aspects.

Both the Atlanta Journal and Constitution and The Seattle Times also encouraged enterprising and boundary-stretching reportage. In 1987, a time when the Atlanta newsroom was pressed to take more risks in its enterprise reporting, editors were willing to tie up a reporter and photographer for a lengthy period. Neither AIDS nor the required attention to the gay community were said to have been barriers to undertaking the story; the only policy debate was whether the paper should focus on one of its own employees.10 In Seattle, O'Boyle's column fit easily into the style of aggressive humanistic reporting developed in the Times' main feature section, "Scene," in the 1980s by Patricia Foote and later by Tazioli. Moreover, the Times has frequently profiled gay men and lesbians, including gay couples with children, as well as people with AIDS, in the section. Thus, a column about AIDS by a gay writer fit readily into a section whose focus on social diversity was well established.11

Commentary (The Text):

The idea of death is richly inscribed throughout all three tributes. The three pieces form a collage of death-ritual motifs, from the Minnesota rural funeral traditions to the extraordinary AIDS memorial quilt spread out in the Ellipse south of the White House in October 1988. These symbols of grief and memory are counterpoint to the themes of death that force decisions in life -- suicide, postponing death through medical intervention, transmitting a deadly virus through sex. In each profile, the logic of chronology leads from living in view of death -- dying inch by inch -- to death itself, and thence to the reflection of the death in the acts and words of others. Acts of survival are credited, to be sure, but inevitably against the more insistent assertions that death controls each story.

This section of the paper examines the many references to death and dying in the context of three questions about the meaning of the tributes. First, since gay men were the subjects of all three selections, what claims were made about the nature of gayness, gay relationships and gay communities? Second, what claims were made about traditional families in the course of examining the deaths of gay men? Finally, what meanings did the newspapers ascribe to deaths related to the disease syndrome of AIDS?

Communities of gay men: The three writers and two photographers had extraordinary access to gay men, opportunities to observe behavior and interests, to appraise relationships, to learn about the history of gays and to identify symbols of obvious value. If various reporting and editing filters, as well

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as the perceptual filters posed in two cases by writers who were not part of the community, removed important elements of the sense of being gay in a community of gay people, by so much was the text evasive or misleading.

The choice of rural gay men as subjects of their profiles allowed the St. Paul journalists to probe a gay relationship and the connections between the two partners and their families and other people in the place where they lived. The relationship of Hanson and Henningson stood centerstage in the reporting, and in their exhaustive detailing of the bonds between the two men, Banaszynski and Pieri revealed a great deal about being gay and committed to another man. From the half-page color photograph in the first installment showing the two men standing, each holding the other in his arm, the relationship was shown as open, intimate and confident despite the existing hatred some have for such loving alliances. Numerous other pictures affirm their love and loyalty.

What is omitted, though, is evidence of the fairly extensive community of gays and lesbians of which Hanson and Henningson were a part.12 Their links to other gays, the articles imply, were through media attention to their AIDS activities; the articles left out the numerous gay men and women the couple had known. The AIDS support group they attended in Minneapolis was scarcely mentioned, and no other persons identified as gay are shown in the 44 pictures used in the series. Hanson and Henningson were shown as a male couple, but the definition of their gay nature lacked reference to other gay people. If it were literally true that both had retreated from sexual and social aspects of the gay community, simply retreated to each other, the journalists should be faulted for concentrating on an atypical pair. Rather, the articles present a claim for empathy for two dying men based on their affection for each other, instead of a claim that makes the pair part of a community defined by sexual orientation.

A "caravan of mourners from the Minneapolis gay community" joined the memorial service for Hanson, irritating "conservative" members of his Lutheran church, but nothing else is said about the visitors. The memorial service, as Banaszynski described it, appeared to be a token victory for Henningson's desire to have it known that he and his partner were gay. Only two objects from Hanson's gay life, a Minneapolis gay newspaper and a button showing a pink triangle, a universal gay symbol, were included on a table in the church lobby filled with pins, photos, a Bible, t-shirts and other "treasures." Yet, church members were said to have objected. The reporter treats the gay objects differently than the others; where the other treasures remind of past experiences -- "broken transformers and sawed-off bolts from transmission towers" downed during a protest, the gay objects are used to symbolize the conflict, mediators between ruffled members of the congregation and a member failing complete acceptance even in death. A quoted comment by Henningson ends in a question, not an assertion, just as the reporter's treatment of the service fails to take Hanson's gay identity for granted.

> "People at the church said there was too much gay stuff involved in the service," Henningson said. "But that was a very significant part of Dick's life, that and his struggle in the past year. How can we deny that?"13

Tom Fox offered his profilers no comfortable refuge in the story of an intense, lasting relationship to divert them from assaying his identity as a gay man. His lover, Paul Hunter, apparently ignored Fox while they lived together, and quickly abandoned him as he began to bear the stress of his illness. Moreover, Fox had lived since 1979 in a city that served as a mecca for gays throughout much of the southeast and had developed requisite commercial, political and social institutions. The gay community surrounded Fox, a fact that Sternberg and Schwarz accepted as central to the story.

They dealt with the subject by breaking it into tiny facets and exploring each one closely, rather than attempting to explain some large abstraction called "the gay community." Fox and his friends had become dependent on pentamadine, a drug they inhaled to ward off pneumocystis, one of the most common AIDS diseases. The drug became a nickname: "'Where's that delicious pie? Will you cut it, Pentam?' Tom asked in his nicest little girl's voice."14 Sternberg caught the PWA (persons with AIDS) humor in other ways; they called the historical Roman Catholic church where they gathered weekly for dinner, the Shrine of the Immaculate Infection. Quoting conversations of an AIDS support group, and of the church supper crowd, Sternberg catches despair, anger, and an ability to turn a joke out of the suffering. Fox, leaving a funeral home after making his own arrangements, told the embalmer, a friend, "Pick me up in a hearse. No ambulance. I want one last smooth ride."

Sternberg wrote nothing about Fox's memorial service; instead, the story highlighted a memorial that Fox was able to attend, the showing of the huge Names Project memorial quilt in

Washington, D.C., in October 1988. Perhaps because of their isolation and exclusion from traditional death rituals, many gays adopted that national presentation of the quilt and local appearances of sections of it as their own particular observance (although the quilt memorializes all who have died in the AIDS crisis.) Five photos, from an aerial view of the quilt on the Ellipse to more intimate scenes of Fox searching for a friend's panel, accompany nine inches of text that name at least 40 persons, some among the searchers, most among the dead represented by panels in the quilt. The section resonates with both the emotional intensity among those who visit the quilt ("Their cheeks were wet, their arms around each other's shoulders.") and the numbing litany of names of persons who have died in the past decade. The quilt panels often are collages of objects that identified the deceased person, symbolic (and sometimes actual) equivalents of the table of treasures that greeted mourners at Dick Hanson's service. A panel Fox helped make is pictured, as is a panel done in Fox's memory and shown at his memorial service, an outline of a horse based on the logo of a rock band, the same design tattooed on his left arm.

Showings of the quilt are implicitly political, as well as memorial, since they invite public attention to the crisis. The October 1988 showing in Washington was blatantly political in the tradition of funerals that relate death to state purposes. In contrast, however, to a state funeral, the quilt presentation had more of the quality of a people's funeral, one conducted in view of those in power as an attack on their failure to use power for the public benefit. The quilt of 8,300 hand-made panels was laid out in sight of the White House only a month before the presidential election to remind both the public and the government that the crisis was not being faced. Sternberg leaves the political implications alone; only Shwarz's aerial photograph of the quilt laid out conspicuously near the White House and major federal buildings makes the point directly. In contrast to Banaszynski's near-failure to let Henningson assert his and his lover's gay identities in Hanson's funeral, the Atlanta story places Fox clearly in the position of making a memorial on his own terms.

The profile, in total, contains revealing shards of the vessel that was Fox's gay identity, including his friendships, the sharing of the pains and losses related to AIDS, the always retrievable humor. Missing are facets of gay life in Atlanta before the AIDS crisis, any sense of such places as Key West (a favorite gay travel destination), gay bars or such events as gay festivities. A popular community festival for gays is described cursorily and stereotypically-- "a sea of walking shorts and polo shirts." The "symbolic statement" of a gay neighborhood is ignored.15 Sexuality is scarcely mentioned, while the political side of gay culture is omitted entirely. With such major omissions, the Tom Fox story has at best a fractured gay context to it.

Robert O'Boyle turned his column into a sweeping spotlight, picking up facets of gay identity from time to time in the search for the AIDS story. His columns provided little sense of gayness as being related to places; instead, the idea emerges from his own actions and from his observation of others. One Sunday morning in September 1990, O'Boyle's readers learned that he had been to Mexico, overloaded on Don Pedro brandy, then mounted a mechanical bull in a brothel. Tossed to the floor, O'Boyle scrambled back on the bull. "In just a fraction of a second on my next run, the bull rose with a sharp thrust, cracking open my chin." The Mazatlan bull cost O'Boyle some blood, his glasses, his dignity, but none of his sense of playfulness. The next day, without glasses, he was harnessed into a parasail and nearly crashed into his hotel. The narrative of the adventures is laced with reflections on the death of a friend and details of his own hospitalization with a raging intestinal infection soon after his vacation. "Indeed, knowing what I faced on my return seems to free my spirit for vacation. I didn't accomplish much, but I was ready for anything. I've never felt so alive."

Unlike Fox and Hanson, O'Boyle's own story showed a dying man turning death upside down -- taking it for granted in order to get a new rush out of life. O'Boyle also caught the humor in the AIDS situation that eluded Banaszysnski and Sternberg. He profiled Michael Harmon, a cartoonist and friend who had died a week earlier. O'Boyle write that six hours before dying, Harmon, 28, had asked his mother to bring him a sketch pad:

> It was time to draw about death. And he wrote: "Hey! You, too, can, in the comfort of your own home, in your spare time, turn death into art."
> In another frame he pans, "Nurse! More painkillers and a bottle of ink!"
> "What do you do when you're dying," he headlines another squib. " . . . . You snap at your chore worker when he commits the crime of error:
> "No, Goddammit!" Michael's cartoon character yells. "The dishes go here! The bowls go there.!"16

Harmon's lines arose from his gay persona, O'Boyle was convinced. "He had wit and guts enough to cross the line between safe gay and tacky jokes. It was a style he lived out through characters in his comic strip: always be outrageous, but never without charm."

O'Boyle dealt with one love relationship of his life tentatively, using the man's given name only at first, then later naming him in full and reflecting on the friendship. His former partner was dying before O'Boyle became aware that he also was infected. The first-person account has a failing: O'Boyle was understandably unwilling to reveal much about the one relationship, and he referred to no others. But for O'Boyle, like Fox, the AIDS memorial quilt helped him accept the losses in his life. The death of his former partner -- and his first visit to a showing of the quilt in Seattle -- was met with denial and a reluctance to grieve, O'Boyle wrote. "When I attend the opening of Seattle's second showing of the quilt next weekend, I'll bring a deeper understanding of what it means to live with, and die from, AIDS," he wrote in November 1991. His final hospitalization deprived him of that encounter.

The emphasis on ideas of family: The subtext of the profile of Dick Hanson is that the unity of his family was shattered by AIDS, and by the intrusion of the reality of homosexuality. The perhaps inadvertent claim of the writing is that the traditional family is unable to provide the loving support needed when a gay man faces death. The climactic section about Hanson's memorial service reviews the family divisions mentioned earlier in the series: A brother, his wife and daughter left the church before the service began, angered at the presence of a photographer; another brother sat alone in the choir loft, saying he would not "sit in a church filled with homosexuals"; another brother's wife and five children stayed home, paralyzed by fear about contracting AIDS. In the fourth installment of the series, in contrast, Henningson's family is seen as loyal and supporting.

Sternberg makes a similar claim about Fox's family. Fox's gayness and illness had created a cleavage between him and his father; his mother apparently accepted her son easily. The reporter's voice accuses the father: "He did not rush to comfort his wife or son [on learning that Fox had AIDS.] He did not cry. He did not call his terminally ill son. He betrayed no emotion at all."17 Where reconciliation eluded Hanson's family, the Fox family comes together before his death. In the Atlanta story, however, the response of the traditional family is arrayed alongside the response of the "family" formed by the crisis.

The family was not a factual presence, much less a symbol of importance, in O'Boyle's writing, although the young journalist had a large and supportive family. Although he mentioned his parents a few times, he could not flesh out a reader's understanding of their role in his life. The clearest insight was provided by a reference to his father's acceptance of him: "My own father, who quietly fought my own sexual identity for a decade, recently spoke to a group of ministers in Walla Walla on the need for churches to open their doors to gays and lesbians and to expand their outreach to people with AIDS."18

The family symbol is asserted particularly aggressively in the Banaszynski series, the earliest of the projects. Hanson's life, it seems, is a series of reflections on the traditional family, on the traditional church and the traditional town community. The rigidity of the metaphor is relaxed only a bit by reference to Hanson's work in political groups and for women's rights. Sternberg offers several alternative senses of family, both softening the idea and complementing the reporting about his parents and brothers: The circle of Fox's gay friends, Fox's close friendship with Bonny Barr Baratta, his high-school friend, and her husband and son, and, between the lines, the emotional bonding of Fox with his biographer and photographer. That O'Boyle nearly avoided writing about his family entirely suggests his sensitivity to the abuse of the idea of family in religious and political rhetoric, and to the extent to which it intrudes in reporting about gays and about AIDS so much that it prevents an appreciation of the individual's life. In one lengthy piece, however, O'Boyle asked others to address the matter of family. Several who were gay or affected by AIDS told of family rejection or abuse; several counselors offered advice on how to cope with alienation. The column, rather than clinging to the code word, acknowledged its lack of value for many persons.19

The newspaper meanings of gay deaths in the era of AIDS: Susan Sontag argued that personal experience and social policy related to the AIDS crisis depend "on the struggle for rhetorical ownership of the illness: how it is possessed, assimilated in argument and in cliche'."20 She urged that military metaphors be retired from AIDS discourses; yet, of the three writers, only O'Boyle used the military metaphors, perhaps because he felt his individual struggle could be best visualized if it were cast in the imagery of a lonely front-line soldier. Far from "giving it back to the war-makers," as Sontag urged, O'Boyle sharpened the images until they served his perfect metaphor -- a duel of swordfighters. "I fence with AIDS every day, always dodging one infection and rolling to avoid some other."21

The illusion of swordfighting suited O'Boyle because it fit another concept central to his writing, the idea of control: A hospital's hell was defined by the patient's loss of control; suicide could be contemplated seriously because it restored control to the person. "I have absolutely no desire to end my life. But the power to control my situation, the power to put an end to misery, just knowing that, whether or not you actually even do it, just knowing you have the power is very important."22

It seems reasonable to listen to a voice at the center of the maelstrom, to allow it, rather than by-standers, to form the metaphorical matrix of discourse -- an axis of ideas and values, an axis of objects and persons. In this case, O'Boyle was a wise teacher. His lessons were about the importance of control to the person affected by AIDS, about the necessary fluidity of personal arrangements in the context of the crisis, and about employing the omens of death to plumb the deeper meanings of life.

Fox's story offered its own endorsement of the idea of control, and, as mentioned before, recognized that "family" has many meanings in a gay, AIDS-affected context. Fox also pushed back the boundaries of the disease by taking a daring trip across the country as his health failed dramatically. To some extent, efforts by Hanson and Henningson to gain greater control over their lives were eclipsed by the attention paid to the institutions in the story -- church, town and traditional family.

In all three profiles, there was a theme that I've not mentioned in any detail. As their immune systems weakened, they turned to drugs to slow the process. As each tried to stave off a devastating form of pneumonia, other afflictions struck their bodies, internally and on the surface. Hanson, Henningson, Fox and O'Boyle all endured incredible agonies of pain, medical intervention and fear. O'Boyle's self-told tale precisely echoes the second-hand accounts of the physical disintegration of the other men. Photographs make explicit the aging and shrinking and physical depletion of Hanson, Henningson and Fox. The photographs are painfully honest; they make the text references superfluous. "Tom looked past [a pretty girl about 10 years of age], and it was not just that she was a child -- he now felt so ugly and so self-conscious that he always averted his eyes from other people."23

In a culture unused to dealing directly with death, one is taken back by the candor of these three accounts of death. Their honesty, however, has its sinister side; it manages to annotate the social value of the subjects, even as it aspires to foster respect for them. Admirable in many ways, the men still can be deprived of autonomy in the telling of their stories. Unremarked, except in the stories told by O'Boyle, are the men, women and children who evidently are not admirable enough -- drug abusers, derelicts, alcoholics, patrons of prostitutes, people abandoned by both kinds of family and left totally to the will of institutions, members of minority groups hard hit by AIDS..

In the final analysis, however, it is the dialectic character of all three studies that enhances their value. Themes of redemption are challenged by themes of self-growth and discovery. Brave young men are seen as in control of their lives even as texts try to show they are under the control of institutions and people. Rituals and memorials are acknowledged, although too often as symbols of a conflict rather than as elements simply important to gay men and lesbians. The voice of gay man dying of AIDS is heard and inevitably affects the journalistic accounts of other writers. In writing of dying, the character of journalism and of the reporter are slowly altered in the process.

End Notes

1 Recent examples include the Albuquerque Tribune's tabloid special section on Sage Volkman, a five-year-old who was severely burned in a trailer fire, and the Des Moines Register's lengthy reportage on Nancy Ziegenmeyer and her response to being raped and the trial of her attacker.

2 I share these assumptions with some constructivist sociologists; journalism in this view is not a picture of actual conditions, but a catalog of claims about social conditions. See, for example, Joel Best, "Introduction," Images of Issues: Typifying Contemporary Social Problems (New York: 1989).

3 Alasdair MacIntyre, After Virtue, 2nd Ed. (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1984), pp. 187-203.

4 Everett M. Rogers, James W. Dearing and Soonbum Chang, "AIDS in the 1980s: The Agenda-Setting Process for a Public Issue," Journalism Monographs, No. 126 (April, 1991), pp. 17-18.

5 American Society of Newspaper Editors, Alternatives: Gays and Lesbians in the Newsroom, April 1990. NLGJA held its first national conference in San Francisco in June 1992.

6 August 27, 1989, p. D-6.

7 "Behind the AIDS Story: Balancing the Twin Roles of Friend and Journalist," August 27, 1989, pp. D-1, 4.

8 D-4.

9 From typescript for article Schwarz wrote a regional photojournalism publication; provided by author.

10 Interviews with Michael Schwarz and William Means, who is in the marketing department of the Atlanta newspapers, January, 1992.

11 The Times ran 1,600 articles about gays and lesbians between 1985 and 1992, an annual average of about 200 major articles.

12 In this sense, community implies linkages of interest rather than linkages based on being in the same neighborhood, city or county.

13 August 9, 1987.

14 E-5.

15 On the geography of gay communities and their symbolic importance, see Peter Jackson, Maps of Meaning (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 120-28.

16 May 5, 1991, p. K-3.

17 E-4.

18 February 16, 1991.

19 September 8, 1991, p. L-1, 2.

20 AIDS and Its Metaphors (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1989), p. 93.

21 July 29, 1990.

22 October 21, 1990.

23 E-9.

"OPENING THE PANDORA'S BOX:"
WERE AMERICAN MEDIA GUILTY OF NEGLIGENCE IN DISCLOSING TIANANMEN PROTESTORS' IDENTITIES?

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Introduction

On June 11, 1989, a week after troops and armored vehicles crushed the pro-democracy movement in Beijing and killed hundreds of civilians, a man was shown on the evening news of China Central Television talking to an ABC correspondent about the bloodshed in Tiananmen Square. The CCTV announcer said the man was wanted by the police for "spreading rumors," and urged the public to turn him in. The next day, the same man, identified as Xiao Bing, was again shown on CCTV evening news, but this time in police custody with handcuffs and a swollen face. He recanted what he had said in the ABC interview and confessed that he was guilty of "rumor-mongering." A few days later, the man was sentenced to 10 years in prison on charges of "counter-revolutionary" crime.(1)

Shocked by what happened to Xiao Bing, ABC rushed scrambling equipment to its Asian bureaus to prevent more "pirate" interception of its footage by the Chinese authorities.(2) Other American media followed ABC's lead by adopting such measure as granting anonymity to their sources and showing only silhouettes of their interviewees to protect their identities from China's police surveillance.(3)

Despite these measures, the harm had already been done by their earlier coverage, which exposed the identities of many Chinese protestors through countless close-up shots and clearly spelled names, thus making them extremely vulnerable to either arrests or political reprisals.(4) A university student was sent to prison for nine years after police found him "spreading rumors" to the Voice of America.(5) Another was arrested after "being repeatedly interviewed by a New York Times reporter."(6) The young man photographed stopping a column of tanks single-handedly was later identified and reportedly arrested.(7)

These few cases were made public deliberately to scare the Chinese away from Western media. Mass arrests were made secretly nationwide, many with the help of the footage or information obtained from the American media.(8) According to a Chinese dissident magazine published in the United States, party functionaries at various level would be called to police stations to view the footage and pick up from the crowd their own employees. Such evidence would then be used to track down those heavily involved in the protest.(9)

It is obvious that many Chinese protestors suffered tremendous physical harm and mental distress as a result of having their identities disclosed by the American media. What remains unclear, however, is whether the U.S. media could be held liable for negligence torts in this or similar cases involving foreign nationals. Although no such allegation has been made to date, their potential consequences merit the attention of legal scholars as well as media professionals.

Part I of this research examines the concept and elements of negligence in terms of physical harm and mental distress. Part II reviews some negligence cases involving the disclosure of identities and the balancing approach courts have used in their decisions. Part III looks at the possibility of negligence action against the U.S. media for their coverage in Tiananmen Square. Part IV discusses the complex nature and legal implications of negligence litigations in the international context.

I. Concepts of Negligence

The Restatement of Torts defines negligence as a conduct that "falls below the standard established by law for the protection of others against unreasonable risk of harm."(10) Such conduct occurs in an action "which the actor as a reasonable man should recognize as involving an unreasonable risk of causing an invasion of an interest of another...."(11) In other words, people act negligently if they breach a duty of care owned to the plaintiff and that breach of duty is the proximate or likely cause of injury to the plaintiff.(12)

Four basic elements are involved in determining negligence, namely duty, proximate cause, reasonable man and unreasonable risk. However, the four elements are interrelated and often situational in court decisions, depending on a number of factors that require the balance of various interests involved.

Of the four elements, duty is obviously the most important, as there can be no cause of action for negligence without first establishing duty. In negligence cases, the defendant's duty is "to conform to the legal standard of reasonable conduct in the light of the apparent risk."(13) There are well-defined legal duties for the media within the system of common law. In most states, these duties include refraining from defamation of private figures and from invasion of privacy. On the other hand, duty also seems to be a subjective decision up to the court in a particular case. It is not rare that two similar cases are ruled differently even in the same state court system. Thus, one court ruled that a newspaper owed no duty to a woman even though a misprint of a telephone number in the paper made her the target of many "fantasies,"(14) while another ruled that a duty was owed and breached when a misprint of a telephone number by a newspaper subjected a woman to obscene calls.(15)

Proximate or likely cause is the liability factor that one might be held legally responsible for negligence. Drechsel noted that common sense factual cause is not necessarily legal cause, whose essence is the concept of foreseeability. According to Drechsel, although some argue for a wider applicability, most courts hold that liability should extend only to foreseeable risks.(16) In other words, as long as the court could establish that a certain medium should have foreseen the consequences but failed to control the action that could lead to such consequences, the medium might be held liable, and its action as a result might prove to be the proximate cause.

There are two ways an action can be held as a proximate cause of negligent infliction. One is to harm an audience member directly, and the other is to cause an audience member to be harmed by a third party or indirectly. When a plaintiff sued Hustler for her son's accidental hanging while imitating an act described in the magazine, her cause of action, which failed to win in court, was based on direct harm.(17) But when a driver was killed by another who was rushing to win a radio contest prize, the radio station was held liable for indirect harm.(18)

It is obvious that duty and proximate cause are closely related, as Prosser put it: "it is quite possible to state every question which arises in connection with 'proximate cause' in the form of a single question: was the defendant under a duty to protect the plaintiff against the event which did in fact occur?"(19)

The other two elements, namely reasonable man and unreasonable risks, are as interrelated and subjective as the first two. According to the Restatement of Torts, negligence is what the reasonable man perceives as an unreasonable risk. Drechsel argued that this reasonable man is not a specific person, but a hypothetical construct. To determine if a defendant's conduct is reasonable, it should always be judged in light of this hypothetical person under the same situation.(20)

In addition to comparing with the judgement of a reasonable man, a risk is found to be unreasonable "if the risk is of such magnitude as to outweigh what the law regards as the utility of the act or of the particular manner in which it is done."(21) According to the Restatement of Torts, whether a conduct is unreasonable should be determined by measuring its risk against the social values of the interest to be advanced by the conduct, the likelihood of such advancement and the likelihood of less dangerous alternatives for such advancement.(22)

Thus, it is obvious that the negligence tort, involving physical harm as well as mental distress, is at best a muddy area with many subjective standards, which often overlap with the marshland of ethics. The complexity is even more compounded with the negligence tort of mental distress, for which courts in the United States refused to provide redress until a few decades ago.(23) Even today, courts in many states are still reluctant to recognize liability for the intangible harms of emotional distress as an independent tort.(24)

This lack of clearly defined rules, however, also has made negligence an attractive tool for plaintiffs, who are suing the media to address various harms by making use of the relaxation of recovery rules, the flexibility of the rules(25), the attempts to make research findings and media ethics legally binding(26), and the willingness of juries to sting corporate media with gigantic damage awards.(27)

On the other side of the battlefield, however, media still have to depend on the time-honored First Amendment for protection against negligence actions. Defense for media is strong and well established in cases involving defamation, and most negligence libel suits against media have failed to pass the legal hurdle. Yet, in negligence cases outside libel, First Amendment protection is not absolute but a chip on the scales that courts use in balancing competing interests.

II. Negligence Involving Disclosed Identities

Negligent infliction of physical harm or emotional distress resulting from the disclosure of identities possesses special characteristics and poses unique challenges to the media. First, content of message is not at issue, and established libel standards do not seem to fit well. Secondly, some cases are related to privacy, while others bear more resemblance to common tort cases. As a result, courts often rely on the theory of balancing and use complicated formulas on a case-by-case basis, adding a great deal of uncertainty for media defendants.

Herrick v. Evening Express Publishing Co.(28) was the first media-related negligence case involving mental distress independent of other allegations. The plaintiff in the case was a mother who read the newspaper's false report about her son's death published with his photograph. The mother sued the paper for negligently causing her mental and physical disorder. The supreme court in Maine held that recovery for mental suffering and nervous breakdown should be denied without proof of actual physical injury.

This reluctance by courts to recognize mental distress as an independent cause of action and without proof of physical injury or impact lasted for several decades, before the tide was turned by two landmark emotional distress cases in the 1970s.

The first case, Blinick v. Long Island Daily Press Pub.

Co.,(29) stemmed from an advertisement inviting single adults to call a listed telephone number and meet new friends. Through a misprint in the paper, the number turned out to be that of a married couple, who allegedly received numerous obscene calls. The couple took the paper to court and argued that they suffered humiliation as well as aggravated high blood pressure. The court held that the newspaper was negligent since it breached a duty it owed to the plaintiff. It also brought the concept of foreseeability into consideration, arguing that the "suggestive nature of the text of these advertisements ... renders it highly foreseeable that what happened would happen if the telephone number was wrong...." The plaintiff was awarded damages of $4,250, including $1,750 from the paper and $2,500 from the sponsor of the advertisement.

Vescovo v. New Way Enterprises, Ltd.(30) involved a couple who sued a Los Angeles paper over an advertisement indicating the wife was soliciting sexual partners. They alleged that their child was frightened by the trespassers responding to the ad, and suffered great physical pain. The court found that the defendant should have foreseen the possibility of emotional harm to the child by the advertisement that showed the residence address of a young wife. Thus, the paper was held liable for both privacy invasion and intentional and negligent infliction of emotional harm.

Negligence cases against media in the 1980s generated even more controversy, with the dust over the chaotic battleground yet to settle. Although most negligence allegations against media have been turned down by the courts, four that did succeed in establishing a cause of action or winning considerable damages are examined here to shed light on the approaches courts use in handing such cases.

In Hyde v. City of Columbia,(31) a woman escaped from a kidnapper and reported the abduction to the police, who released her name and address to a local newspaper without her consent or knowledge. The paper published the information with the knowledge that the abductor was still at large. The abductor threatened her on seven different occasions after learning her name and address from the paper. She sued the city police for negligent disclosure and the paper for negligent publication, and won both cases. The court rejected defense arguments that the publication was privileged under the Sunshine Law and the common law. The court used the negligence analysis in establishing the paper's duty:

> We determine also that the name and address of an abduction witness who can identify an assailant still at large before arrest is a matter of such trivial public concern compared with the high probability of risk to the victim by their publication, that a news medium owes a duty to in such circumstances to use reasonable care not to give likely occasion for a third party [assailant still at large] to do injury to the plaintiff by the publication. That duty ... derives from a balance of interests between the public right to know and the individual right to personal safety--between the social value of the right of the individual at risk.... It derives from the social consensus that common decency considers such information of insignificant public importance compared to the injury likely to be done by the exposure.... It is the likelihood of injury to another that gives rise to the duty to exercise due care. The test of negligence liability is foreseeability: that

> the actor knows or has reason to foresee that the act involves an unreasonable risk of injury to another but fails to protect against that hazard.

The court found that the paper "breached its duty and the plaintiff suffered emotional harm from the intentional threats of imminent death and injury proximately caused by the negligent conduct of the reporter and newspaper." On appeal, the Missouri Supreme Court affirmed the decision.

Negligent disclosure and emotional distress were also key issues in the Daily Pantagraph v. Baner(32), one of the few cases that have made their way to the Supreme Court. However, instead of filing a negligence charge against the press, the plaintiff used it as a reason in successfully seeking a prior restraint court order. At issue were two girls who sexually abused the children they were babysitting and caused a fractured skull to one of them by deliberately dropping the child on the floor several times. During early investigations in juvenile proceedings, the girls' names and whereabouts had been released. The girls' attorneys alleged that the disclosure subjected their clients to threats and abuse, and obtained a court order preventing the press from reporting the girls' identities and locations. The press argued against such prior restraint, saying that the girls' names and original addresses were already public knowledge and the release did not pose immediate threat to their safety or privacy. The girls' attorneys, however, argued that lifting the restraint could lead to the girls' death or serious injury. After failing to obtain a hearing on its appeal in the

Illinois state court system, the press went to the Supreme Court to seek a stay on the court order. In 6-3, the full Court denied the press' motion for the stay without giving opinion. Although no negligence charge was filed in this case, it could be inferred that by issuing the restraint order, the judge actually recognized a duty owed by the press and a proximate cause of the foreseeable threat to the girls' lives by the press' disclosure of their identities. The same argument could also be inferred from the Supreme Court's 6-3 decision.

Times Mirror Co. v. Superior Court(33) came out of a murder case in California. The plaintiff went home one night to find her roommate dead on the floor and a stranger in her apartment. She fled the scene and reported the murder to the police. The paper identified the plaintiff by name as a witness to the death as well as to the stranger, who had been in the apartment but later fled the scene. The plaintiff sued the paper for negligence on the ground that the story revealed her identity as the only witness to the murder and thus subjected her to a greater risk of harm from the stranger. The newspaper sought for summary judgment but was denied by the court. The paper argued that the plaintiff's name was obtained from official police records, and the story became public knowledge since the plaintiff had told the story in the neighborhood. The court held, however, that talking to a group of friends and relatives to seek solace and cooperating with police in criminal investigation did not make the plaintiff's private information public. When the newspaper raised the issue that the story was newsworthy, the court said that this was up to the jury to decide by balancing the public benefit of knowing the identity against the danger of the disclosure to her safety and emotional well-being. The court also used balancing to reject an absolute First Amendment defense for the press in this case and to reject the claim that the state could not punish a paper for publishing lawfully obtained information. It concluded that the state's interest in protecting witnesses and conducting criminal investigations was sufficient to overcome the newspaper's First Amendment right to publish the witness' name. However, instead of continuing the court battle, the plaintiff settled the case with the defendant out of court for an undisclosed amount.(34)

Doe v. American Broadcasting Company(35) involved two rape victims in New York who agreed to appear on camera for a local TV program after receiving repeated assurance from the station that it had the technology to secure broadcast anonymity. However, the victims' facial features, outlines and voices were clearly identifiable in the program and its promotional announcements. After the victims complained, the station repeated the assurance, but a later portion showed even more identifiable parts with no attempt whatsoever to disguise their voices. At one point, the face of one victim was entirely visible. The two women, one of whom had never told her family of the rape, were called by many who knew them and experienced great mental distress. They sued the station for breach of contract and negligent and intentional infliction of emotional distress, while the defendant sought a motion for a summary judgment. On appeal, however, the New York Supreme Court reversed as to the cause of action for intentional infliction, but affirmed the plaintiffs' other two allegations, namely breach of contract and negligent infliction of emotional distress.

A common thread that runs through these cases, or most other negligence cases, is the balance between competing interests of the press and those whose rights have been violated. The First Amendment and the right to know are strong defense mechanisms for the media, and have helped them win many negligence battles in court. This defense, however, is not absolute, and needs to be balanced against other interests that the courts are obligated to protect. As shown in Times Mirror Co. v. Superior Court and other cases cited above, a compelling interest such as the protection of the plaintiff's life and liberty often overcomes the media's First Amendment right in disclosing the plaintiff's identity.

III. Tiananmen Square Coverage

The Tiananmen Square coverage by the American media began in mid-April 1989 when demonstrations started, and remained a regular item in most media's foreign news mix. Starting from mid-May, more dramatic coverage, including live broadcast, was made possible by such events like students hunger strike, Gorbachev's China visit, the declaration of martial law, and the bloody crackdown. It was also during this month from mid-May to mid-June, however, that the disclosure of the protestors' identities by the American media became the most serious problem.

There is no question that many of the Chinese protestors suffered actual physical harm as well as emotional distress, because the disclosure of their identities by the American media made them vulnerable to arrests, imprisonment and lesser-degree political persecutions by the Chinese authorities. But are such disclosures actionable negligence cases in court? And can such suits be filed by foreign nationals against American media in American courts? To answer these questions, first we need to apply the four elements of negligence in light of the balancing theory that courts use in deciding such cases, and then look at the jurisdiction question through two precedents.

As noted earlier, actionable negligence cases depend on the proof of a duty of care owed by the defendant to protect the plaintiff from harm. Thus, a duty exists between two parties when certain harm occurs as a result of their relationship. In the case here, harm did occur because of the disclosures by the media, which proves the existence of a general duty owed by the media to those whose identities were exposed.

Secondly, the identified protestors were either sources of information or subjects of certain news presentation to the media. Generally speaking, media owe a higher degree of duty to their sources or subjects than to their audience, for there might be no access to the news without a source but hardly so without a certain audience member. This higher degree of duty is also reflected in court decisions. When a newspaper broke its promise of confidentiality to a source and identified him in a scandal story, the court confirmed such a duty by holding the paper guilty of breaching a contract.(36) But when a boy partially blinded himself by imitating a game, which a TV program promised to be safe, the court did not hold the television station liable for such a tragic outcome.(37)

The duty of care was owed by the American media also because of the special relationship they had with the protestors. After the martial law was declared in Beijing, the protestors became very suspicious of any Chinese with a camera on the scene, and did not trust reporters from domestic media either. Only foreign reporters had access to certain occasions, such as events in the evening of the massacre, because the protestors wanted the world to see what was going on there and they trusted the foreign media for such a task. This special relationship, however, also implied a special duty. Whoever was privileged with such access was expected to exercise due care to protect those people from potential dangers to their freedom and life.

The second element of negligence is proximate cause, and the key to its understanding is foreseeability. In other words, if the defendent can foresee the risk that his action will bring to the plaintiff, his action is the proximate cause. Could the American media foresee the danger that disclosing the identities of the protestors would bring to their arrests and persecutions, or did they? The answer seems to be yes, although nobody could predict the exact details of the risk except the Chinese authorities themselves. Arrests of civilian activists and leaders of the independent workers' union began when the martial law was declared in May 19, two weeks before the massacre. Security officials in Beijing were ordered to gather evidence about activists as early as in late April. These were open secrets that most people, including the American reporters, knew about. A New York Times story on the day after the massacre reported the widely rumored black lists and worries many Chinese expressed about possible arrests."(38) Many reporters there also covered the student movement in late 1986 and early 1987, and knew about what could happen to the students after the crackdown of the protest. Besides, China is, after all, a country with a totalitarian government and a poor human rights record. It would not be hard to foresee what could happen to the protestors if the authorities learned about their identities. Such foreseeability of the risk involved clearly established the element of proximate cause in this case.

In addition, the legal cause for negligence does not have to be direct. Media can also be held liable for causing somebody to be harmed by a third party, as is shown by some of the cases reviewed. Thus, although the harm was inflicted directly on the protestors by the Chinese authorities, the disclosure of their identities made such harm possible.

However, it would be too far-fetched to hold the American media liable for disclosing all the identities. There were several kinds of people who were identified in the American media. The first group was made up of student leaders and high-profile public figures, who joined and led the movement with full knowledge of the risk and could be easily identified because of the great amount of publicity in both domestic and foreign media. The second group involved those who sought the American media and insisted on having their identities fully exposed to show defiance and determination. The third group included those who did not want to have their identities exposed, although they were willing to talk to American reporters or were not used to turning down aggressive requests for interviews. People in the last group were those who happened to be caught in the pictures without their knowledge.

The duty owed to the first and second groups seemed to be minimal, if any, since these people made a rational decision and were ready to deal with whatever consequences that decision might bring about. However, for the third and fourth groups, the media owed a greater duty because their identities were disclosed without consent or knowledge. When the young man stopped a column of tanks single-handedly, he probably did not have any idea that a camera was zooming in at him, thus making him a target to the police. It was also doubtful if Xiao Bing would have accepted the ABC interview that led to his 10-year imprisonment, if he had known that talking to an American reporter was almost the same as talking to a police photographer as far as his identity was concerned.

In addition to duty and proximate cause, negligence action is also based on a conduct that "a reasonable man should recognize as involving an unreasonable risk."(39) The reasonable man in this case would most possible be a foreign correspondent or foreign news editor, who should at least have some general knowledge about the country they were covering. It is highly unlikely that a small-town paper reporter whose only knowledge about China was how to handle chopsticks would be considered a reasonable man by the courts. In other words, the reasonable man should be a professional acting professionally in such a sensitive situation.

To see if unreasonable risks were involved, balancing had to be applied to assess the seriousness of the risk to the plaintiff against the need for the disclosure. Obvious defense for such disclosure could include the First Amendment right to know, the newsworthiness of the events, and the credibility to the news. However, these defenses seem to be unconvincing in this case since the competing interest was the freedom and life of those protestors, and disclosure posed a clear and present danger of injury.(40) Unfortunately, however, most American media failed to avoid such unreasonable risk, even when the risk became so clear and apparent that disclosure of identities constituted not only negligence but even outrageousness.

In the same issue that carried the story about Xiao Bing's arrest for "rumor-mongering," Newsweek carried an eyewitness account and quoted "Xu Laisheng, a Beijing bus driver," as saying, "At every intersection, people were slaughtered.... Deng Xiaoping has simply murdered his own people."(41) Was such disclosure a reasonable act, when this person could be easily picked out from the only state-owned bus company in Beijing?

Some TV networks said the identities were disclosed when the Chinese police intercepted their footage sent through satellite. However, experts said satellite communications could be protected through electronic coding, but the networks were reluctant to spend the money because they could not assess the risk very well. After ABC began to scramble its feeds from China in response to the Xiao Bing incident, the other networks still relied only on obscuring the faces in the actually aired footage, leaving the identified interviewees at the mercy of Chinese interceptors.(42)

Thus, using the theory of balancing and the four elements of negligence, the Chinese protestors who suffered physical harm and emotional distress as a result of American media's disclosure of their identities could presumably state a cause of action and bing up lawsuits against the American media.

After proving a legitimate cause, the next question then would be: can foreign nationals file such suits against American media in American courts? The answer seems positive, since two recent libel cases provided some relevant precedents.

In Sharon v. Time,(43) the former Israeli defense minister sued Time for libel in an American court over an article in Time indicating he was indirectly responsible for the massacre of Palestinians in Lebanon. The judge denied Time's request to dismiss the lawsuit based on the act of state doctrine.(44) Sharon was able to prove that the Time story was negligently false and defamatory, but could not win damage award for failing to prove actual malice.

In another case, Desai v. Hersh,(45) the former Prime Minister of India filed a suit in another American court against the investigative reporter for accusing him of working as a CIA agent. However, although he proved the story was defamatory, he failed to prove actual malice because he could not compel Hersh to reveal his secret sources.

IV. Implications

The world is quickly shrinking into a global village because of changes in world communication as well as world politics. The American media are expanding their presence in other countries and bringing home more information about the rest of the world. A recent study shows that full-time American reporters working for American media in other countries increased from 429 in 1975 to 820 in 1990. The number of countries covered by such full-time foreign correspondents in 1990 was 80, up from 57 in 1975.(46) The growth of broadcast communication is even more impressive, and the network programs can now be watched in almost all countries thanks to satellite communication.

This growth, however, is bound to create some far-reaching implications with regard to negligent infliction of physical harm and emotional distress as a result of disclosed identities.

The first is obviously that a greater number of people in other countries might be hurt by such negligent disclosure by the American media. Such a possibility is further increased by the fact that the world is going through the most volatile period in the postwar history, and many newsworthy changes are taking place. Without due care from American media professionals, the pervasive presence of American media can make people in other countries suffer as much pain as the joy they get from American soap operas.

In addition to what happened in China in 1989, the most disturbing instance was the American media's coverage of the coup attempt in the former Soviet Union, which resembled their China coverage three years ago in terms of dealing with the identities of those defying the coup attempt. Fortunately, history did not repeat itself, and nobody was hurt as a result the disclosure. But the appalling absence of any caution and concern could not but make one wonder if the lesson paid in blood in Tiananmen Square had ever been learned at all.

Second, technological development has provided almost every country with access to American media, which can be used by governments to promote development and to spy on their own people. As shown in the China case, even satellite transmission is no longer free of pirate interception. This has created a technical problem to the American media, which depend heavily on satellite to gather and disseminate information. Countries that have a poor human rights record are not limited to the communist world, and such countries as Israel and South Africa have also used media information to identify and arrest dissidents. American media's coverage in these countries can also be used for purposes other than intended. However, to avoid such a risk, extra care and money are needed to install electronic coding and scrambling equipment. The American public, on the other hand, probably also need to get used to the idea of watching obscured pictures on TV about stories in other countries when disclosing identities might subject people there in danger.

Third, negligence actions also pose some professional challenges to American media, especially those that engage in international reporting. Foreign correspondents need to have more knowledge of their host countries and understanding about the cultures and traditions not just to write good stories for their editors or readers, but also to avoid negligent behavior that might result in infliction of physical and emotional harm to the people they cover.

Such negligence actions against American media by foreign plaintiffs can also lead to more complexities in court decisions. Negligence as an emerging tort has already given courts enough headaches because of its flexible and uncertain nature. Cases filed from other countries can only add to such complexity, for conditions and norms are different from country to country. What is normal in one country might be taboo in another. A girl who finds her picture in the local paper's "fashion on the street" section might feel flattered in this country. Doing the same thing to a woman in a Islamic Fundamentalist country might subject her not only to family and public ridicule, but also to severe beating or even divorce. Releasing the names of rape victims may be protected by law in the United States, but can sometimes lead to the victims' suicides in some Asian countries. Is such a release reasonable newsroom policy or does it involve unreasonable risk? These are only a few of the questions courts have to ponder over in deciding such negligence cases.

* * *

In deciding the Walt Disney case, the Georgia Supreme Court held that to allow recovery for a rare injury would "open the Pandora's box and have a seriously chilling effect on the flow of protected speech."(47) By raising a legal issue out of such a tragic event, the author does not wish to unleashing some "evil" wills against the U.S. media. Instead, this paper is intended to bring about much-needed awareness and discussions among scholars and professionals, so as to prevent such tragedies in the future.

NOTES

1. Nightline, ABC News, June 12, 1989.
2. "Betraying the Source," Columbia Journalism Review, May-Aril 1990, p. 6.
3. "Interview Aftermath," Broadcasting, June 19, 1989, p. 34.
4. "Betraying the Source," op. cit..
5. New York Times, June 29, 1989.
6. "Small Carrot, Big Stick," Newsweek, July 3, 1989, p. 28-29.

7. Ibid.

8. "Beijing Under Red Terror," China Spring, Dec. 1989, p. 16.

9. Ibid.

10. Restatement (Second) of Torts, $282 (1965).

11. Ibid., $284.

12. William Prosser and W. Page Keeton, Law of Torts, 5th ed. (St. Paul: West, 1984). p. 164-165.

13. Ibid., p. 356.

14. Tatta v. News Group Publishing, Inc., 12 Media L. Rep. 2318 (N.Y. Sup. Ct., 1986).

15. Blinick v. Long Island Daily Express Pub. Co., 67 Misc. 2d 254, 323 N.Y.S. 2d 853 (N.Y. City Civ. Ct. 1971).

16. Robert E. Drechsel, "Media Tort Liability for Physical Harm," Journalism Quarterly, 64: 99-105 (Spring 1987).

17. Herceg v. Hustler Magazine, Inc., 13 Media L. Rep. 2345 (5th Cir. 1987).

18. Weirum v. RKO General, Inc., 15 Cal. 3d 40, 123 Cal. Rptr. 468, 539 P 2d 36 (1975).

19. Prosser and Keeton, op. cit., p. 274.

20. Drechsel, op. cit..

21. Restatement, op. cit., $29.

22. Ibid.

23. Robert E. Drechsel, "Mass Media and Negligent Infliction of Emotional Distress," Journalism Quarterly, 62: 523-527 (Autumn 1985).

24. Kent R. Middleton and Bill F. Chamberlin, The Law of Public Communication, 2d ed. (New York: Longman, 1991).

25. Drechsel, op. cit., see Note 16.

26. Drechsel, op. cit., see Note 23.

27. Rodney A. Smolla, Suing the Press, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 13.

28. 120 Me. 138, 113 A. 16 (1921).

29. Blinick v. Long Island Daily Press Pub. Co., op. cit..

30. 60 Cal. App. 3d 582, 130 Cal. Rptr. 86 (1976).

31. Hyde v. City of Columbia, 637 S.W. 2d 251 (1982), cert. denied. 103 S. Ct. 1233 (1983).

32. The Daily Pantagraph v. Baner, 469 U.S. 977 (1984).

33. Times Mirror Co. v. Superior Court, 15 Media L. Rep. 1129 (1988).

34. "Invasion of Privacy Lawsuit Is Settled," Editor and Publisher, March 18, 1989, p. 22.

35. Doe v. ABC, 16 Media L. Rep. 1958 (A.D. 1989).

36. Cohen v. Cowels Media Co., 445 N.W. 2d 248, 252-53 (Minn. Ct. App. 1989).

37. Walt Disney Productions, Inc. v. Shannon, 276 S.E. 2d 580, 582-83; 247 Ga. 402 404-406 (1981).

38. "In the Streets, Anguish, Fury and Tears," New York Times, June 4, 1989, sec A, p. 20, col 3.

39. Restatement, op. cit..

40. Walt Disney Productions, Inc. v. Shannon, op. cit..

41. "What I Saw Is Bodies, Bodies, Bodies," Newsweek, June 19, 1989, p. 22.

42. "Betraying the Source," op. cit..

43. Sharon v. Time, Inc., 599 F. Supp. 538.

44. Libel on Trial: The Westmoreland and Sharon Cases, NBA Special Report, Appendix 4 (Bureau of National Affairs, 1985).

45. Desai v. Hersh, 719 F. Supp. 670 (N.D. Ill. 1989).

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47. Walt Disney Productions, Inc. v. Shannon, op. cit..

Coverage of Persons With Disabilities in Prestige and High Circulation Dailies

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COVERAGE OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES IN PRESTIGE AND HIGH CIRCULATION DAILIES

This year has seen the start of the implementation of the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA), a law designed to provide civil rights protection for the estimated 43-million Americans who belong to what has been called "The Last Minority" group (Cooke & Reisner, 1991). But the ADA is just one of many factors which must change to allow these individuals full participation in society. Among these factors are attitudes toward disability held by society in general, which are influenced by the way mass media portray persons with disabilities.

The mass media influence the visibility and acceptance of minorities and can have some impact on the broad social recognition of the problems of groups such as persons with disabilities. Lazersfeld and Merton (1957) wrote that the media confer status on those whom they choose to cover. "If you really matter, you will be at the focus of mass attention, and if you are at the focus of mass attention, then you must be important." (p. 461-462).

Disability rights activists and others have criticized media coverage of those with disabilities (Biklen, 1987; Cooke & Reisner, 1991; Elliott, 1989; Johnson, 1990; Johnson & Elkins, 1989; Krossel, 1988) as being stereotypical, paternalistic and inaccurate in the areas of language, role portrayal and issue coverage. Much of this criticism has been anecdotal or based on limited case studies. This examination of news coverage of persons with disabilities in prestige and high circulation dailies is a first step toward empirically examining newspaper coverage of these individuals.

Review of Literature

With a few recent exceptions, most content studies of media coverage of disability come from the rehabilitation literature and have consisted of simple tallies of inclusion of disabled characters in TV shows (Byrd, 1979; Byrd, Byrd & Allen, 1977; Dillon, Byrd & Byrd, 1980; Elliott, 1983; Leonard, 1978), movies (Byrd, 1989; Byrd & Pipes, 1981) or books (Byrd, Williamson & Byrd, 1986). The general trend of these studies' findings can be summed up by Gerbner, et al. (1980), who noted that on television, "Physically handicapped characters are few and tend to be older, less positively presented, and more likely to be victimized." (p. 902). de Balcazar (de Balcazar, Bradford & Crawford, 1988) reflected Shoemaker's (1985) concept of deviance as newsworthiness by noting, "The media portray people with disabilities in a negative and unrealistic way, preferring the sensational or pitiful to the everyday and human side of disability." (p. 34).

Newspaper coverage of disability was examined by Biklen (1987) who concluded that press coverage of the Baby Jane Doe and Elizabeth Bouvia cases was condescending and paternalistic. Yoshida, Wasilewski and Friedman (1990) found that the traditional topics of budget expenditures, housing and treatment in institutions were the most prevalent in five metropolitan newspapers representing geographic regions. Keller, et al. (1990) studied twelve newspapers at three different circulation levels and found that persons with disabilities were noted in feature stories rather than in hard news stories, and that these articles tended to present the negative impact of disability on people's lives.

Hypothesis One

These news stories will generally reflect traditional viewpoints about persons with disabilities.

This hypothesis is based on the concept that organizational, professional and social forces will result in traditional values being reflected in reporters' writing about disability. Breed's (1955) contention that newsroom socialization is a big factor influencing the news decision-making process is joined by others (e.g. Dimmick, 1974; Ettema, 1978) who noted the impact of organizational and professional values. Shoemaker's (1985) association of newsworthiness with deviance would mean that reporters with progressive personal attitudes would be pulled in the opposite direction by organizational, social and professional forces toward the deviant, sensational or traditional approach when writing about disability. It is hypothesized that reporters will follow these social and organizational forces and write traditional stories about disability.

Hypothesis Two

Presence of either formal or informal style guidelines regarding persons with disabilities will correlate with progressive stories about disability.

This hypothesis is based on studies which show that both formal and informal guidelines influence news decision-making. Dimmick's (1974) "Uncertainty Theory" of news decision-making noted that news gatekeepers make decisions of what to cover by accepting the organization's formal and informal policies of what is news and that they base their composition of news stories on organizational policy as well as upon traditional news values. Dimmick (1979) later cited formal and informal policies at the organization level as one of several layers of influence on decision-making, as did Johnstone, et al. (1976) in an examination of highly-bureaucratized newsrooms. It is hypothesized that reporters working in newsrooms which have some sort of organizational policy regarding coverage of individuals with disabilities will write more progressive stories.

Hypothesis Three

Presence of a person with a disability on the staff will correlate with progressive viewpoints reflected in stories about disability.

This hypothesis has a similar theoretical background as that for Hypothesis Three, except that this one is designed to measure the effect of social and peer influence (e.g. Breed, 1955) on reporting about disability, with disabled coworkers in the role of peer. The Kerner Commission (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, 1968) noted that media organizations needed the help of black journalists to comprehend and cover the black community adequately. It follows that a diverse news staff which includes journalists with disabilities could enhance a newspaper's overall disability coverage by using their own knowledge of the issues, roles and language and by passing that knowledge on to other reporters (Breisky, 1990; Dalton, 1989; Smith, 1991). Therefore, it is hypothesized that peer influence which explicitly deals with persons with disabilities will coincide with more progressive coverage of such individuals.

Methods

The hypotheses were examined by content analyzing newspaper stories about persons with disabilities which were published in 16 prestige and high circulation newspapers[1] during the first three months of 1990[2]. The names of 257 reporters were obtained from the bylines of the 363 stories and 157 of them responded to a mail survey.[3] The survey forms included questions about whether or not the reporters had a boss or a coworker with a disability and whether the reporter's newsroom had style guidelines dealing with persons with disabilities.

Disability was defined as consisting of the physical characteristics of blindness (or visual impairment), deafness (or hearing impairment), mobility limitation (conditions limiting ambulation or necessitating the use of wheelchairs, crutches, canes, etc.) or conditions limiting control of hands or speech. This definition did not include mental illness or retardation, substance dependency or AIDS. While in many cases the situations and interests of these different groups are similar, inclusion of the latter grouping was beyond the scope of this research.

Four of the variables used in the analysis were obtained from the content analysis and two from the survey.

The content variables were examined in terms of traditional and progressive models of disability (Clogston, 1990; PSI International, 1991) where traditional models view individuals with disabilities as malfunctioning in some way and progressive models view such individuals as attempting to participate in and contributing to a society which has been unable to adapt its physical, social or occupational environment and its attitudes to those who are different.[4]

The content variables were evaluated as either traditional or progressive.

Traditional ROLES of persons with disabilities were medical, social pathology and supercrip; progressive ROLES were minority civil rights and cultural pluralism (see detailed definitions in the coding protocol in the Appendix).

ISSUES covered by the stories were categorized as traditional or progressive based on how they intuitively fit the models used in determining roles. Traditional issues included medical, government and private support for persons with disabilities, institutionalization, victimization, special education and special employment. Progressive issues dealt with accessibility, discrimination, consumer topics, independent living, mainstream education and general employment. Stories which did not deal with disability issues were coded as neither traditional nor progressive when they were personal accounts of an individual, focusing on his or her disability. Stories which dealt primarily with another issue but included an aspect of disability which was noted but not focused upon were also coded as neither progressive nor traditional.[5]

STORY LANGUAGE and HEADLINE LANGUAGE were determined to be traditional or progressive based on a number of publications dealing with objectionable language used to refer to disability (Grein & Breisky, 1990; Johnson & Elkins, 1989; Longmore & Piastro, 1988; Michigan Department of Labor, 1989; National Easter Seal Society, 1989; The Research & Training Center on Independent Living, 1990). For STORY LANGUAGE, terms used to refer to persons with disabilities were counted and the percentage of traditional and progressive terms computed. HEADLINE LANGUAGE was determined using the same criteria as story language, except that only the headlines and sub-heads were evaluated.

Reliability for the content categories was assessed by pretesting a number of articles not in the sample.[6]

Two variables were obtained from the mail survey of reporters.

STYLE GUIDELINES was based on combined responses to a question which asked reporters whether their newsrooms had formal (written) or informal style guidelines which referred to individuals with disabilities[7].

COWORKER CONTACT with a person with a disability consisted of responses to questions asking whether reporters had worked with or had a boss or supervisor with a disability.

Findings

To test the first hypothesis, that stories would be traditional, the proportion of traditional to progressive stories was compared in four content categories, Roles, Issues, Story Language and Headline Language.

Hypothesis One was only partially supported. In the Roles category, traditional stories outnumbered progressive stories by about nine percent (Table One). In the Issues category, stories covering traditional disability issues outnumbered those covering progressive disability issues by more than 17 percent.[8]

The two language variables exhibited opposite tendencies. Of the stories with language referring to persons with disabilities, 62.7 percent were progressive and 37.3 percent were traditional. However stories with traditional headlines outnumbered those with progressive headlines 54.3 to 45.7 percent.

The second hypothesis, that presence of style guidelines regarding disability would coincide with progressive stories, was tested by crosstabulating the style variable (presence or absence of style guidelines) with the four content variables. The percentage of progressive stories written where style guidelines were present was compared with those written where no style guidelines were present.[9]

Style guidelines made a slight difference in whether disability Roles were progressive or traditional (Table Two) as 47.1 percent of the stories written at newspapers with style guidelines portrayed people with disabilities in progressive roles.

Slightly less than 43 percent of stories written at newspapers with no style guidelines portrayed people with disabilities in progressive roles.

But the presence of style guidelines appeared to have the opposite effect on disability Issues covered. The proportion of progressive stories written at newspapers with no style guidelines was higher than at those with such guidelines by 49 to 36.8 percent.

In the Story Language category, where style guidelines might be expected to have a considerable impact, about five percent more stories were progressive when written by reporters at papers with style guidelines than those written where there were no guidelines (64.5 percent with guidelines, 59.3 percent without guidelines).

The biggest difference was in Headline Language, where 51.3 percent of stories were progressive with guidelines present, compared to 37.7 percent present where there were no guidelines.

For the third hypothesis, that contact with a co-worker with a disability would coincide with progressive story content, reporters were asked whether or not they had a boss or coworker with a disability. The work contact variable (presence or absence of contact with a boss or coworker) was crosstabulated with the three content variables upon which reporters have direct impact (Roles, Issues and Story Language). The percentage of progressive stories where contact was present was compared with those written by reporters who indicated they did not have contact with a boss or coworker with a disability.

In the Roles content variable, nearly 53 percent of stories written by reporters who had contact were progressive compared with 43 percent progressive stories when there was no reported contact (Table Three).

The proportion of stories with progressive issues was nearly 15 percent higher when there was contact with a coworker or boss with a disability (43.7 percent progressive with contact, 28.6 percent progressive without).

But work contact with a person with a disability seemed to have the opposite effect on language used to describe individuals with disabilities. Seventy-five percent of the stories written by reporters without work contact used progressive language compared with 62 percent when there was work contact.

Discussion

The news content analyzed and the reporters surveyed were chosen purposively, not by random sampling techniques. Because the findings are based on populations of news stories and reporters, projections of the results of this study to newspapers and reporters in general is purely speculative. However, because of the high-profile nature of the prestige and high circulation newspapers chosen for the study, this population can be considered to represent some of the best and most aspired-to journalism in the country (Stempel, 1961).

The first hypothesis, that reporters would follow the dictates of their professional training reinforced by newsroom values and write traditional stories, was supported in two of the three content categories where reporters have influence, Roles and Issues, and was also supported in the category of Headline Language, which are usually not written by reporters. The hypothesis was not supported in the Story Language category.[10] But the preponderance of traditional news content was not overwhelming. Even the most traditional content category -- Issues -- exhibited a difference of only 17 percent.

The hypothesis that style guidelines would coincide with progressive content was supported most strongly in the Headline Language category, with much weaker positive relationships with Roles and Story Language. In Issues, however, presence of style guidelines exhibited a moderate negative relationship with coverage of progressive disability issues.

The strong association between presence of style guidelines and progressive headlines may reflect the way newsrooms use the stylebook. Headline writers and copy editors work most closely with the stylebook so it is no surprise that its influence was strongest in areas reflecting their work.

The weaker association with story language suggests that reporters may not pay as close attention to style guidelines as do the headline writers. The weak association with roles may reflect the makeup of the stylebooks used, as most general stylebooks such as the A-P Stylebook do not address many aspects of the Roles variable but confine guidance to some of the more blatant violations of progressive language referring to disability.

Part of the explanation for the negative relationship with issue coverage may be that reporters and editors will not usually refer to a stylebook when deciding what to cover. A more probable influence on determining issue coverage would be other reporters and those who assign stories.

The hypothesis that contact with a coworker with a disability coincides with progressive content was supported most strongly in the Issues category. The hypothesis was supported to a lesser degree with Roles but the relationship was quite negative with story language.

This lends support to the concept that newsroom diversity (in terms of inclusion of those with disabilities) may have a positive or progressive influence on the type of issues covered in stories about disability. These findings also lend support to the supposition that the organizational factors of style guidelines and contact with disabled coworkers have a connection with progressive content, but it is complex and partially contradictory.

Further research into news coverage of individuals with physical disabilities should expand the scope of inquiry beyond the prestige and high circulation newspapers to include a cross sample of newspapers of different sizes, broadcast and other print media, and to include other types of disabilities such as mental and learning characteristics. A detailed examination and comparison of newspapers' style guidelines regarding disability coverage (including aspects of issues and roles as well as language) could add to understanding of what, how and whether reporters are being told to write about disability.

These findings indicate that while the present state of disability news coverage by the 16 newspapers is not terribly traditional, neither is it particularly progressive. But the fact that these newspapers, which are considered to be among the best in the country, contain a considerable amount of traditional coverage, indicates there is likely to be plenty of room for improvement in general newspaper coverage of persons with disabilities.

Implications For Journalists

For newspaper journalists, the question of what amount of traditional coverage is acceptable should be addressed differently for each of the content categories.

With language, it would seem that a case could be made for avoiding any use of traditional terminology to refer to individuals with disabilities. This practice has been followed for the most part with racial minorities. But lack of consensus among those with disabilities themselves on what constitutes acceptable language makes reliance on rigid guidelines a risky proposition. Making journalists aware of the issues and ensuring that they avoid using some of the more offensive terms may be the most that can be hoped for in terms of making newspaper language more progressive.

Roles are more difficult because there are those who fit into traditional roles who may warrant news coverage. It would be inaccurate and unethical for reporters to portray individuals with disabilities in progressive roles which are inaccurate. The problem arises when reporters rely on traditional stereotypes to describe individuals with disabilities because they (the reporters) are not aware of the diversity of people who happen to have disabilities. Again, the goal of journalists should be awareness of the uniqueness of individuals rather than the sameness of their disabilities.

The toughest call is with issues. Not covering traditional aspects of disability when they are integral parts of a story would be bad journalism. But covering traditional disability issues with no awareness of non-traditional disability issues is just as bad. A goal for journalists should be an awareness of the variety and scope of disability-related issues.

The findings of the second and third hypotheses suggest that the most effective way a news organization could make coverage more progressive involves factors in the working environment itself. The professional values which reporters learn in the newsroom need to be made more accommodating to acceptance of persons with disabilities.

Newspapers should make an effort to include all aspects of disability coverage in style guidelines and to make sure that reporters are aware of those guidelines. Since presence of style guidelines on covering disability was associated with traditional issue coverage, it might be desirable for those guidelines to go beyond the "do's and don'ts" of language and to include a discussion of what disability issues and roles are considered to be traditional or stereotypical and what ones are progressive.

It is unlikely (and undesirable) that this would affect coverage of breaking stories which deal with the traditional aspects of disability. But reporters who are more aware of the progressive issues and roles might be more likely to include them in non-breaking stories which might otherwise not include the impact of an event or issue on those with disabilities.

Another way newspapers can improve disability coverage is to take the nearly 25-year-old advice on minority group coverage of the Kerner Commission, and hire more members of the group whose story is being told inadequately in many ways. Having contact with a boss or coworker with a physical disability was found to have a strong association with progressive roles and issues. Newspapers should make a concerted effort to hire staff members with physical disabilities, not simply to have a token "expert" to cover a particular beat, but to provide other reporters with a colleague who may, both overtly and subtly, influence the way reporters cover all stories, not just those which obviously involve persons with disabilities.

By improving newspaper coverage of persons with disabilities, journalists can better provide less limited, non-stereotypical and unoffensive coverage of members of this "last minority" as they move toward full participation in society.

Endnotes

1.Stories from the following newspapers were analyzed: *Atlanta Constitution, Baltimore Sun, Chicago Tribune, Christian Science Monitor, Detroit Free Press, Detroit News, Los Angeles Times, Louisville Courier-Journal, Miami Herald, New York Daily News, New York Times, Newsday, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, USA Today, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post.* (List derived from Merrill & Fisher, 1980; Stempel, 1961; and top ten circulation as of September 30, 1988--*Editor & Publisher*, 1989).

2.Stories were included in the population if they they were written by reporters on the newspaper's staff and dealt primarily (more than 50 percent of the paragraphs) with disability subjects or primarily about individuals with disabilities.

3.An initial mailing and one follow-up resulted in a 61 percent response rate.

4.For details see the coding protocol in the appendix.

5.One difficulty in determining whether coverage is traditional or progressive based on issues covered (and to a lesser extent roles) is that there is no way content analysis can evaluate the universe of news stories available to be covered on a particular day. A reporter does not necessarily ignore a progressive story to cover a traditional one. Therefore, this study is limited by the constraints of content analysis to evaluating what issues were covered and actually appeared in the newspaper.

6.Intercoder reliability for the sample was 100 percent agreement for ten of 16 coding categories, 90 percent for four categories and 80 percent for two categories. Intracoder reliability (done after approximately 28 percent of the stories had been coded) were 100 percent agreement for eleven of the categories, 90 percent for two and 80 percent for three of the 16 categories.

7.Presence of written style guidelines was determined by newspaper. If the majority of respondents from a particular newspaper indicated that there were formal style guidelines regarding persons with disabilities, all reporters from that newspaper were coded as working in a news organization which had such formal guidelines present. Informal guidelines were coded as present only if the individual reported having them.

8. However, when Personal, No Issue stories are included in the sample as traditional stories (based on contentions by Johnson and Elkins [1989] and Krossel [1988] that stereotypical disability coverage has often focused on disabled individuals rather than on broader societal issues affecting disability) the traditional category is raised to 48.5 percent of the stories.

9.Since the stories and reporters sampled in this study were chosen purposively, use of inferential statistics would be meaningless. However the Cramer's V (Phi) statistic was computed for each of the cross tabulations (Tables Two and Three) and are reported with each table.

10.If one takes a "hard line" approach to the story language variable by coding stories with even a single traditional reference to persons with disabilities as traditional, 68.8 percent of the stories would be traditional and the hypothesis would be supported in all four content categories.

Table One

Proportion of Traditional and Progressive Stories in Categories of Roles, Issues, Story Language and Headline Language

Roles of Persons with Disabilities

	Stories	Percent
Traditional	187	54.4%
Progressive	157	45.6%
Totals	344	100%

Disability Issues Covered

	Stories	Percent
Traditional	147	58.6%
Progressive	104	41.4%
Totals	251	100%

Headline Language

	Stories	Percent
Traditional	70	54.3%
Progressive	59	45.7%
Totals	129	100%

Story Language

	Stories	Percent
Traditional	115	37.3%
Progressive	193	62.7%
Totals	308	100%

Table Two

Stories with Progressive and Traditional Newspaper Content by Presence or Absence of Style Guidelines Dealing with Disability

Roles

	TRADITIONAL ROLES	PROGRESSIVE ROLES	
NO STYLE GUIDELINES	67 57.3%	50 42.7%	117 100%
STYLE GUIDELINES	120 52.9%	107 47.1%	227 100%
	187	157	344

Cramer's V (Phi) Statistic .04186

Issues

	TRADITIONAL ISSUES	PROGRESSIVE ISSUES	
NO STYLE GUIDELINES	49 51.0%	47 49.0%	96 100%
STYLE GUIDELINES	98 63.2%	57 36.8%	155 100%
	147	104	251

Cramer's V (Phi) Statistic .12020

Table Two (Part Two)

Story Language

	TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE	PROGRESSIVE LANGUAGE	
NO STYLE GUIDELINES	44 40.7%	64 59.3%	108 100%
STYLE GUIDELINES	71 35.5%	129 64.5%	200 100%
	115	193	308

Cramer's V (Phi) Statistic .05170

Headline Language

	TRADITIONAL HEADLINE LANGUAGE	PROGRESSIVE HEADLINE LANGUAGE	
NO STYLE GUIDELINES	33 62.3%	20 37.7%	53 100%
STYLE GUIDELINES	37 48.7%	39 51.3%	76 100%
	70	59	129

Cramer's V (Phi) Statistic .13411

Table Three

Story Content by Contact with Boss or Coworker with a Disability

Roles

	TRADITIONAL ROLES	PROGRESSIVE ROLES	
NO COWORKER CONTACT	45 57.0%	34 43.0%	79 100%
COWORKER CONTACT	53 47.3%	59 52.7%	112 100%
	98	93	191

Cramer's V (Phi) Statistic .09499

Issues

	TRADITIONAL ISSUES	PROGRESSIVE ISSUES	
NO COWORKER CONTACT	40 71.4%	16 28.6%	56 100%
COWORKER CONTACT	40 56.3%	31 43.7%	71 100%
	80	47	127

Cramer's V (Phi) Statistic .15518

Story Language

	TRADITIONAL LANGUAGE	PROGRESSIVE LANGUAGE	
NO COWORKER CONTACT	17 24.6%	52 75.4%	69 100%
COWORKER CONTACT	36 37.5%	60 62.5%	96 100%
	53	112	165

Cramer's V (Phi) Statistic .13587

SOURCES

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APPENDIX

Content Analysis Coding Instructions

Coding Guidelines for Content Analysis of Coverage of Disability

Stories are to be coded if they deal primarily with individuals with disabilities or with disability issues. If the focus of the story is on something else, at least 10 percent of the paragraphs must deal with disability issues or with individuals with disabilities.

Disability is considered to be physical disability. Persons with physical disabilities include wheelchair users, crutch or cane users; people who are blind or visually impaired; individuals who are deaf or hearing impaired; and persons with limited control of hands or of speech.

1. Article Number: To be arbitrarily assigned

2. Publication Number:

01	ATLANTA CONSTITUTION	09	MIAMI HERALD
02	BALTIMORE SUN	10	NEW YORK DAILY NEWS
03	CHICAGO TRIBUNE	11	NEWSDAY
04	CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR	12	NEW YORK TIMES
05	DETROIT FREE PRESS	13	ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH
06	DETROIT NEWS	14	USA TODAY
07	LOS ANGELES TIMES	15	WALL STREET JOURNAL
08	LOUISVILLE COURIER-JOURNAL	16	WASHINGTON POST

3. Date: Month--Date

4. Reporter Number: To be assigned and indexed for reference

5. Article's focus: 1. (PRIMARY) Story deals PRIMARILY with some aspect (medical, economic, political) of disability or persons with physical disabilities. Persons with physical disabilities include wheelchair users, crutch or cane users; people who are blind or visually impaired; those who are deaf or hearing impaired; and persons with limited control of hands or of speech.

2. (SECONDARY)

Story deals SECONDARILY with disability. Story focuses on another issue or topic, but there is some mention of disability or individuals with disabilities in the story.

Borderline cases can be determined by number of paragraphs dealing with disability. 50 % or more of them deal with disability--it's PRIMARY (the disability does not have to be re-mentioned specifically each paragraph); less than half of the paragraphs deal with disability or an individual with a disability it's SECONDARY.

6. Roles of Individuals with Disabilities:

(0) Individuals not depicted.

TRADITIONAL--persons with disability viewed as malfunctioning in a medical or economic way. The source of disability-related limitations lies within the individual. Society's role is to either cure or maintain the individual medically or economically. In extreme cases, the individual is considered to be deviant or less than human because of the disability.

(1) Medical model -- emphasis is on the individual's physical disability as an illness, individual is portrayed as dependent on health professionals for cures or maintenance. The individual is passive and is a patient who suspends regular activities for the duration of "illness." This also includes stories which focus on the physical aspects of an individual's disability.

(2) Supercrip model -- this is a subcategory of the medical model. Individuals in this role are also focused on because of the deviant nature of the physical characteristics of their disability, compounded by the fact that they deviate from the traditional concept of "disabled person" by "living a normal life in spite of their disability." The individual with a disability is portrayed as deviant (either superhuman in the case of rock-climbing paraplegics and those pushing their wheelchairs across Canada or simple special in the case of a story about two teenage boys with cerebral palsy who live "regular" lives.) This role reinforces the idea that persons with disabilities are deviant--that this person's accomplishments are amazing for someone who is less than complete. The story about the teenagers would be a cultural pluralism story except for the fact that their "normalcy" is presented in the context of "isn't it amazing that he can be so regluar IN SPITE OF his disability." The emphasis on how unusual this is presents them in a deviant manner.

(3) Social Pathology model -- person with disability portrayed as a disadvantaged client who looks to the state or to society for economic support which is considered a gift not a right. The individual with a disability is portrayed as a passive recipient of government or private economic support.

PROGRESSIVE--Views the major disabling aspect of a person's handicap as lying in society's inability to adapt its physical, social or occupational environment and its attitudes toward those who are different.

(4) Minority/Civil Rights model -- person with disability shown as member of minority group dealing with legitimate political grievances of persons with disabilities. Individual is more than simply a person with a disability, but is involved in disability rights political activities. In the case of political action demanding changes, individuals with disabilities who **actively** demand political changes would be coded as minority civil rights.

(5) Cultural Pluralism -- Person with disability considered a multi-faceted individual, whose disability is just one aspect of many. No undue attention is paid to the disability. Individual is portrayed as are others without disabilities.

Traditional breakdowns can be determined by combining categories 1, 2 and 3; Progressive by combining 4 and 5.

Overall dominant pattern will be determined by a) type of portrayal of individual who is the major focus of the story. If more than one type is evident, the role will be that which dominates in the most space; b) if there is no one major individual, that which predominates in the most space. If still undeterminable, consensus of coders will determine aspect of roles of individuals with disabilities.

7. Issue Covered:

Issues are things of concern to society in general. To be considered more than a "Personal--no issue" story, the story must link that which is being covered to something outside of the immediate story being told. If the story deals with more than one issue, that which takes the most space will be the one coded.

00-Personal-no issue emphasized

Traditional

01-Medical-- having to do with medical treatments, procedures etc. which relate to disability. Also stories which focus on physical aspects of a disability.

02-Govt. Support for PWD-- having to do with social service, medicaid-medicare type programs sponsored by federal of state government.

03-Private Support for PWD-- non governmental support programs, churches, charities, foundations etc.

04-Institutionalization-- dealing with individuals with disabilities who are kept in institutions with no hope of getting out--warehousing aspect.

05-Special Education-- special, separate school programs for pwd

06-Special Employment--Hire the handicapped, special or separate jobs for pwd

07-Right to Die--stories dealing with whether life support can be terminated (or active euthanasia performed) on individuals with disabilities who have expressed wish to terminate their lives.

08-Victimization--person with disability portrayed as victim of something such as a crime.

Progressive

41-Access-- physical access to buildings, programs, meetings, parking, transportation, recreation etc. Full participation in all that society offers.

42-Americans With Disabilities Act.

43-Discrimination--situations where access or participation is deliberately denied to an individual because of his or her disability.

44-Independent living-- A specific movement which seeks to keep pwd out of institutions living as much on their own as possible.

45-Mainstream Education-- referring to educational programs which integrate schoolchildren with disabilities with other students

46-General Employment--employment of pwd in mainstream jobs

47-Consumer Issues--where products services etc. used by pwd are evaluated, discussed, recalled OR where a general products use by pwd is featured. These can include new technology.

48-Language--dealing with terminology used to refer to disability or people with disabilities.

49-Non-disability issue--main issue covered in story is not related to disability, however pwd is involved or disability aspect is noted, but not the main focus.

OTHER ISSUES ARE SURE TO COME UP AND WILL BE EVALUATED AND ADDED BY AGREEMENT OF CODERS.

8. Issue Aspect:

Will be evaluated as No Issue (0), Traditional (1) or Progressive (2) by primary issue the story covers. The above listing is to be used as a guideline. Additional issues will be assigned Traditional or Progressive status by consensus of coders.

Story Language:

Language used to refer to persons with disabilities will be evaluated in the text of the story. Individual references will be coded as Traditional or Progressive based on criteria attached. Number of Traditional and Progressive references will be counted.

A- Photo captions are not considered part of the text.

B- Accurately reported official titles are not counted.

C- When a term is used (appropriately or inappropriately to describe something which is not a person (eg. handicapped parking, disabled seating) it is not included since it does not refer to persons.

D- Direct quotes are included.

E- References to body parts are coded the same as refs to people (James'arm was disabled--PROG; John's legs were crippled--TRAD

F- When language is referred to as terms (such as "Smith dislikes the term 'wheelchair-bound'"), it is not counted. Only count them if they are used by the reporter as part of his or her story

G- Traditional language includes anything that is "The"-ed: The disabled, the handicapped, the blind, the deaf, etc. This makes what is an adjective (handicapped) which should modify a noun (person) into a noun which identifies certain individuals as nothing but that attribute.

H- Disability groups object to use of euphemisms. Terms such as handicapable, mentally different, physically inconvenienced and physically challenged are considered consescending. They reinforce the idea that disabilities cannot be dealt with upfront. (Research & Training Center on Independent Living, "Guidelines for Reporting and Writing About People with Disabilities," 1990) Language of this type is to be coded as Traditional.

I- Progressive language includes persons with disabilities (or handicaps or visual limitations) as well as disabled persons (or handicapped persons, or blind men etc.)

J- Also, look for a condition someone may have (such as polio).
"Roosevelt had polio" is Progressive.
"Roosevelt suffered from polio" is Traditional
"Roosevelt was a victim of polio" is Traditional

The operational thing here is the verb. "Suffered" and "was a victim of" are Traditional with negative connotations. Disability groups consider such terminology to be sensationalizing disability (focusing on such individuals' deviance). "Had" is more neutral and is to be coded as Progressive.

K- References to DISABILITY RIGHTS or DISABILITY MOVEMENT or DISABILITY BILL are considered progressive. Example:

He would prefer to see the money spent on advertising or promotions to get people to work more closely with the physically challenged.

That term -- along with "handicapped" and "disabled" -- seems fine to him.
the physically challenged--counts as one Traditional for two reasons. First, it is a euphamism (H), the other is that it is used as a noun (G).
handicapped--does not count--it is a term, not referring to individuals (F).
disabled--does not count, same reason as above (F).

9. Presence of Story Language:

If there is language in the story referring to disability, code as 1.
No language, code as 0.
If this is coded as 1, go to 10, 11 & 12. If coded as 0, go to 13.

10. Number of progressive story references:

Enter number of progressive language references.

11. Number of traditional story references:

Enter number of traditional language references.

12. Percentage of traditional story references:

Enter percentage of traditional language references.

Headline Language:
Language of headline and subhead(s) evaluated same as story language.

13. Presence of headline language

If there is language in the headline referring to disability, code as 1.
No language, code as 0.
If this is coded as 1, go to 14, 15 & 16.

14. Number of progressive headline references.
Enter number of progressive language references.

15. Number of traditional headline references.
Enter number of traditional language references.

16. Percentage of traditional headline references.
Enter percentage of traditional language references.

EDITORIAL TREATMENT OF US FOREIGN POLICY IN THE NEW YORK TIMES: THE CASE OF PAKISTAN (1980-90)

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EDITORIAL TREATMENT OF US FOREIGN POLICY IN *THE NEW YORK TIMES*: THE CASE OF PAKISTAN (1980-90)

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In forming our images and beliefs about the world of international affairs, a world that is for most people, outside of direct experience, our reliance on media is emphasized. In their study of the nature of foreign news coverage, Johan Galtung and Holmboe Ruge called the news media " first -rate competitors for the number one position as international image former" (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Most of what we know of international affairs comes to us from news media. The seeming remoteness of international affairs from our daily lives causes us to be even more reliant on the media for the substance of our mental pictures of the world. There are indications that diplomats and policy-makers get much of their information from the media, despite their access to other information channels (Walker, 1982 and Cohen, 1963). Cohen further describes:

> Most of us gather our impressions of other countries and societies from the media. (G)enerally the external world, the world of foreign policy, reaches us--or those of us who are interested or attentive -- via the media of mass communication, and most of the foreign policy audience, the really effective political map of the world--that is to say their operational map of the world--is drawn by the reporter and the editor, not by the cartographer (Cohen, 1963:13).

The media have been found to link opinion leaders in various branches of the government and society even more effectively than private meetings (Edwards, 1979). Whatever the reality, there is a strong belief that the American media have the power to create national "images" or stereotypes.

This study investigates the image of Pakistan in *The New York Times* (NYT). Within this examination, however, the main thrust of the study is to explore the relationship (if any) between the NYT and US foreign policy towards Pakistan in 1980-1990. This paper attempts to demonstrate the interplay between the framing of the policy-makers' social reality and the framing of the NYT's social reality. The "social reality" of these sources is interchangeable with their political ideology. In the case of the policy-makers, the political ideology is reflected in their stated foreign policy, and in the case of the NYT, it is reflected in the contents of unsigned editorials.

In discussing the relationship between the media and foreign policy, this study will pay particular attention to the impact of government on media output as well as to the impact of media on foreign policy.

Historical Background

As the Cold War began to extend to areas beyond, the United States sought to enlist Pakistan in collective security arrangements against international communism. Right after its independence, Pakistan joined the United States through an alliance relationship with the signing of the Mutual Defence Agreement on May 19, 1954. This agreement went a long way in transforming Pakistan into America's "most allied ally in Asia"(Azmi, 1983). On March, 1959, the US and Pakistan signed a bilateral agreement according to which "the USA.will take such appropriate action, including the use of armed force, as may be mutually agreed upon.in order to assist the Government of Pakistan at its request" and reaffirmed its support for the national independence and integrity of Pakistan[1].

For sometimes Pakistan and the US each did its level best to maximize their gains out of the alliance (Azmi, 1983). By the time, Pakistan-US relationship were severely affected by several factors. For instance, although Pakistan was the 'most allied ally, in practice the US followed an even-handed policy towards both India and Pakistan. In the post 1965 War (between India and Pakistan) era, the geo-political environment of the region considerably changed. During the 1971 Indo-Pakistan War the lack of US active interest in the initial phase of the crisis emboldened India and the USSR to seize upon the opportunity to disintegrate Pakistan. In addition, the US indifference to the Kashmir problem was also a major irritant in Pakistan-US relations. On the other hand, India exploded a nuclear device in 1974 but Pakistan's limited nuclear programme became suspect in American eyes. America started taking 'punitive action' against Pakistan. Later on, Carter administration stopped all US non-food aid to Pakistan . The US administration also persuaded France to back out of a contracted agreement to sell a reprocessing nuclear plant to Pakistan (Islam, 1983:32).

In 1979, Iran's revolution left a vacuum which no pro-American country was able or willing to fill. This revolution undermined the US position in a strategically vital area and jeopardized important US interests. Although the Iranian revolution brought Pakistan's potential role in Southwest Asia sharply into focus, it was the Soviet military incursion into Afghanistan, tilting the balance of power in favor of the Soviet Union, Carter realized Pakistan's importance in the new geo-political situation in the region. The Carter administration urgently offered security safeguards to Pakistan (Islam, 1983:33).

Because of their increasing interest in the region, the United States authorities lifted the ban on economic and military aid to Pakistan despite their previous suspicions about Pakistan's nuclear programme. Deputy Assistant Secretary Jane A. Coon stated:

> .....As you know, the sanctions had been applied in only the case of one country--Pakistan. Two years ago we suspended development assistance and our international military education and training (IMET) program to Pakistan. Our relations deteriorated. There was growing sense of isolation and insecurity in Pakistan. Much has been changed in this region in the past two years with the collapse of Iran and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The administration-and the previous one--recognized that the vital interests of the United States and its allies are engaged in this region. The Soviet army is now on the border of the populous Indian sub-continent, and Pakistan is a front-line state. Pakistan stands on the eastern flank of the Persian Gulf.....As a result of our recent discussions with Foreign Minister of Pakistan Agha Shahi, we will be requesting authorization for $ 100 million under the economic support fund (ESF) in FY 1982. We will be returning to the Congress with more specific requests but probably not for the FY 1982 budget[2] (Also see the file of the NYT January,1980).

Two topics in particular will be investigated concerning the US-Pakistan relationship: 1) US policy with respect to Pakistan's position on Afghanistan and 2) the US military and economic aid to Pakistan as linked to Pakistan's military and nuclear program. These two issues were the most recurrent factors in US-Pakistan relations during 1980-1990, and were the subjects of numerous NYT editorials.

The following research questions will be investigated within the broad framework of the Dominance Theory.[4]

Q 1. How did the NYT react to the US policy with respect to Pakistan's position on the issue of Afghanistan?

Q 2. How did the NYT react to the US military and economic aid to Pakistan?

Q 3. How did the NYT react to the US policy towards Pakistan's nuclear program ?

Q 4. What kind of image did NYT portray about Islamic Republic of Pakistan ?

Q.5. What kind of relationship exists (if any) between the social reality of the NYT and the social reality of the policy-makers from 1980-1990? (This question involves the comparison of the NYT unsigned editorials and the policy-makers' stated foreign policy).

One duty of the press is to lead the public and provide guidance for the reader through its editorials (Berdes, George R., 1969). Since the NYT is an editor's paper (McCombs et al., 1991:26), the primary purpose of the NYT's editorial page is to focus public attention and to provide leadership on current issues of political, economic and social importance to the city, state, country and world.[5] The NYT is considered one of the world's premier newspapers and is often studied as a model of the American press. It publishes relatively more foreign news compared to other elite American newspapers, and also serves as a reference newspaper for other media (Semmel, 1976; Riffe and Shaw, 1982; Haque, 1983; Potter, 1987).

The period selected for this research is significant for many reasons. During this period (January, 1980- August,19 90), Pakistan underwent a variety of political, economic, and diplomatic changes which had important consequences for relations with its neighbors and its role in regional and international affairs. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan and the Iranian revolution thrust upon Pakistan an enhanced security role as a 'front line state', as a major recipient of American military and economic assistance, and as an active participant in the affairs of Islamic South West Asia. Because of this increasing interest in the region, US policy toward Pakistan changed dramatically during this decade. The United States authorities lifted the ban on economic and military aid to Pakistan despite their previous suspicions about Pakistan's nuclear program (see footnotes 5, 6, 7,8 and 12 for details).

Close and frequent readings of the documents made possible the demarcation of the period of this study (1980-1990) into the following phases of the policy:

Phase I : January 1, 1980--January 31, 1981: This period includes the beginning of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan, political change in Iran, the emergence of Pakistan's strategic importance, Carter's Presidential term in the United States and the martial law regime of Zia-ul-Haq in Pakistan.

In this phase, US President Carter stated US policy concerning US interests in the region and warned the Soviet Union that any attempt to reach the Persian Gulf would be regarded as a direct threat to US vital interests. He did not rule out the use of military force to repel Soviet aggression[5] Moreover, during this phase of the foreign policy, Carter's administration lifted the ban on US military and economic aid to Pakistan[6] and assured Pakistan of US support (February 1, 1980)[7]

Phase II: February 1, 1981--April 14,1988.

Phase II includes the period of Reagan's administration in the United States, the non-party base elected regime of Muhammad Khan Junejo in Pakistan, the amendment in section 669 in US law, a period of generous military and economic aid to Pakistan and the beginning of a political dialogue that led towards the Geneva Accord. During this period the Reagan administration adopted a bold Afghan policy. US policy toward Afghanistan was:

1. To provide cross-border humanitarian aid to the Afghans.
2. To support Afghans in their efforts to form an interim government that could actively embark on a strategy that would lead to a political solution.

The Reagan administration was generous with US military and economic aid to Pakistan, leading Secretary of State Haig to propose an amendment:

> The proposed amendment to section 699 is an important--indeed essential--building block in a new relationship. It is a necessary step which will permit us to provide assistance to this beleaguered country. But your action will also have symbolic value. Not only Pakistan, but others among our allies and friends, are looking to the United States to demonstrate its commitment to support those friends who are standing in the way of a Soviet thrust into this vital area."[8]

Phase III: November 1, 1988-August 31, 1990: During this phase, Benazir, a less hostile leader to India and Najibullah, was put into office through a general election, and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan was completed on February 15, 1989. This was the period of the Bush administration in the United States. The Bush administration preferred Benazir's regime because of her positive attitude toward the US proposal of the formation of a broad-based interim government in Afghanistan[9] for political settlement in Pakistan. Moreover, Benazir's assurance concerning Pakistan's nuclear program in her election campaign made her government credible to the Bush administration. However, Benazir continued to pursue key areas of Pakistan's Afghan policy. She pledged to 'remove the ambiguity' about the nuclear energy program and devote it to civil purposes.[10]

This phase extends to the dismissal of Benazir by President Ghulam Ishaq Khan in August 1990. The Bush administration was interested in strengthening the regime of Benazir in Pakistan. Arthur Hughes, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, stated:

> We also believe the sale of F-16 fighter planes would reinforce the confidence of the Pakistan military in the ability and the willingness of the civilian leadership (Benazir's administration) to provide for the nation's security. We think that this sale would contribute to the national self-confidence required for Pakistan to take risks for a reduction of regional tensions.[11]

Phase III of the US Afghan policy may be summarized as follows:

1. Removal of Najibullah's rule in Afghanistan.

2. Dialogue between the leadership of the Mujahideen and several other representatives of the population.

3. Movement towards the act of self-determination and installing a representative government through election.[12]

It has been noted that there was significant harmony between Pakistan and the US on the above-mentioned two topics during phases I and II, whereas disagreement was observed on the issue of political solution in the beginning of phase III.

This analysis will also investigate the nature of the relationship (if any) between the US press and the US foreign policy and interests towards Pakistan during the period of 1980-1990. In this study, the notion of 'national interest' defined by Furniss and Synder (1955) has been accepted. "The national interest is what the nation i.e; the decision-makers, decide it is"(p. 17).

Theoretical Perspective

This study uses the notion of "frame" as defined by Gitlin[13] (1980) and adopts Hacket's emphasis on ideology (1984) that transcends the concept of bias. Hacket argues that ideology provides a framework through which events are presented.

News frames are constructed from and embodied in the key words, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images emphasized in news narrative. Frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them. The frame does not eliminate all inconsistent information; texts inevitably contain some incongruent data. But through repetition, placement, and reinforcing associations with each other, the words and images that comprise the frame render one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensible, and memorable than others.

One problem with the concept of framing, as Tankard (1991) and others pointed out, is that it is not always carefully defined. Frequently it is used in vague way, or apparently just as a metaphor. Here, the theoretical definitions of frames have been used, providing room for the use of all these metaphors, including social reality, ideology and stated or portrayed policy, etc.

Stated foreign policy, the frame of the policy-makers, the political ideology, the social reality of the policy-makers (the powerful), the foreign policy portrayed in the newspaper, the frame of the journalists and the political ideology and social reality of the news organization (NYT) are all interrelated metaphors which accommodate each other. Further, all these metaphors revolve around various concepts e.g., Gramsci's concept of hegemony[14], the propaganda model[15] of Herman and Chomsky, Gan's theory[16], Altschull's economic model[17], Cohen and Young's Mass Manipulative model[18], Shoemaker's (1987) concept of ideology[19] and the concept of social reality[20] within the broad frame of the Dominance Theory, which states:

> ...the state carries out the policy of the ruling elite, and the press justifies the policy. The press in the US is called upon to support military actions and to misrepresent the sources of popular unrest in foreign countries. News and editorial contents support the basic government policy and the world view it represents, while at the same time it (US press) represents a critique of the manner in which policy is carried out (Chomsky 1978; Hallin, 1986).

According to the Dominance model, the press serves the elite. Rather than being open to influence by a multitude of groups, it is dominated by a small, powerful, stable class of wealth and privilege (Murdock & Golding, 1979). The content emphasizes a world view which supports the status quo and derides calls for change. Beliefs supporting the political and economic structure, and therefore elite privilege, are never questioned (Bred, 1958).

Since media people rely on governmental sources regarding foreign affairs reporting, they follow, or tend to follow the governmental line. Moreover, most of the literature indicates that the role of the media is monolithic during external conflict. Therefore, parts of several different models and theories proposed by Cohen and Young, Gramsci, Gans and Chomsky and Tuchman seem to compromise each other on foreign affairs coverage in the democratic society of the United States.

Literature Review:

'Framing' appears useful to researchers as a means of referring to how an event is portrayed in a particular news story. Mass communication researchers need a method to examine not just what events are reported in the news media--the goal of many past quantitative content analysis studies--but how the events are reported. The literature review is divided into two parts: 1) Literature about 'framing' 2) Literature related to the media-foreign policy relationship.

Part I: Framing

This part of the literature review indicates the use of "frame" and some other theoretical concepts as previously mentioned. Hacket (1984) points out that the conflict in El Salvador is framed as a 'national security' issue and that other frames are possible, such as a rich-versus-poor frame. He adds that "framing is not necessarily a conscious process on the part of journalists; it may well be the result of the unconscious absorption of assumptions about the social world in which the news must be embedded in order to be intelligible to its intended audience." (p.262-263).

Rachlin, (1988) while examining coverage of the shooting down of a Korean Airlines Flight 007, suggests that the media's framing of the issues, in some hegemonic way, was similar to the US government's accounts of the incident. Rachlin concedes that conflicting information was also included but points out that it was not highlighted. He suggests that the media presented a "dominant American frame of good versus evil" (Rachlin, 1988).

Some of the Canadian media, Rachlin says, framed the KAL incident as a part of the superpower contest, and, while still taking in some of the American frame, managed to keep more of a spectator's distance. As part of his "news-as-ideology" thesis, Rachlin suggests that the coverage of Solidarity also relied strongly on government sources.

Entman's study (1991) discussed which dimensions of the KAL and Iran Air coverage carried the information that comprised the frame. In this way, it aimed to illuminate in detail the nature of the frame in the foreign news text. Entman also speculated on the interactions between the frames in the text and the thinking of journalists, audiences, and political elites. (p.7)

The initial interaction of sources and journalists set the framing process in motion for entirely new breaking events. This view suggests, for example, that based upon initial US government descriptions of the KAL downing and upon pre-existing cultural expectations (prototypical schematic understandings (p.96) of the Soviet Union and international affairs, journalists quickly developed a new event-specific schema, "the KAL attack". The schema encouraged them to perceive, process and report all further information about the event in ways supporting the basic interpretation encoded in the schema. In general, when constructing KAL texts, journalists' cognitive habits and constraints (and those of their organization), combined with heavy dependence on elite sources, predictably led them to make frame-confirming data more salient in the news text--and to de-emphasize contradictory data (Entman, 1981:49-52)[21].

Media critics have also taken on the term 'frame'. For example, Chomsky used this term in an interview (Szykowny, 1990) to refer to the way the NYT introduced a news story reporting an offer on August 23, 1990, by Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. Basically, Chomsky argued that the NYT's story marginalized the Iraqi offer by opening its story with a statement from the US government discrediting it (Tankard et al, 1991:1).

Part II: Media-foreign policy relationship

The media and foreign policy relations aspect of international communication has been studied by various researchers. Cohen (1963) views the press as "a political actor of tremendous consequence" (p.4). Cohen calls attention to the influence of the newspaper press on American foreign policy and examines the ways in which government officials and non-governmental policy-makers are influenced by the press, and, in turn, sometimes use it to further their policy aims.

Most of the literature related to media and foreign policy indicates that American news media coverage of foreign political systems coincides with American foreign policy interests (Parenti, 1986; Hallin, 1986; Dalhgren, 1982). Anderson (1988) characterizes the news media as one of the central means by which a dominant ideology is distributed to and accepted by subordinate groups. This dominant ideology is a relatively consistent and well-integrated world view. Other content researchers have extended this perspective to news coverage of international affairs. These analysts have repeatedly stressed the American news media's support for American foreign policy, often by the acceptance of Cold War ideology, and American journalism's inattention to the historical and social roots of conflicts in the Third World (Anderson, 1988; Herman & Chomsky, 1988; Hallin, 1986; Dalhgren, 1982). For example, in his analysis of the NYT's coverage of elections in El Salvador and Nicaragua, Herman (1988) concluded that the ideological perspectives employed in the reporting corresponded with American foreign policy interests in Latin America. Similarly, Hallin (1986) found that the Times and the American television networks frequently accepted the American government's views on the Vietnam War.

Studies of Frances (1967), Mills (1969), Houghton (1965), Liu (1969), Kam (1979), Dewey (1967), Kriesberg (1946), Paletz and Entman (1981) and Lynch and Effendi (1964) show that US media support American governmental policies.

The studies of Tadayon (1980), Weaver and Wilhoit (1981), Pirouz-Shoar Ghaffari (1985), Agbese & Ogbondah (1988) and Bokhory (1989) conclude that the US press gives substantial and favorable coverage to the countries where its political, economic and military interests lie.

Several other studies, such as Becker (1977), Ramaprasad (1984), Brown (1980) and Kuan-Hsing Chen (1983), however, reveal that the US media do not necessarily support American governmental policy, because in a free press system, the press is not supposed to be an actor in inter-governmental interactions.

In the case of Pakistan, the studies of Mujahid (1970), Becker (1977), Kamran (1984) and Bokhory (1989) show that the US press has been inconsistent (sometimes supportive and sometimes adversarial) concerning the coverage of Pakistan, especially during the the three decades prior to the 1980's. Khan's study (1984) shows that during the period of President Eisenhower (1953-54) Pakistan gained favorable treatment in the US press.

American newspapers can be seen as presenting "the systematic propagation of a given doctrine" (Herman and Chomsky, 1988). It is precisely for this reason that critics like Chomsky argue that "the media's purpose in a free society is to manufacture consent among the governed, rallying the population to endorse elite decisions" (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

The literature concludes that overall, US media support American governmental policies and give favorable treatment to the countries where US political, economic and military interests lie.

Hypothesis:

The media-foreign policy relationship is a complex issue. It is difficult to make a general statement about this question. However, in light of more than 90% literature in the filed of media and foreign policy relationship, it can be assumed that overall US media tend to support the official policy on foreign affairs. That is, there is an overall consensus between media and official line on foreign affairs.

As mentioned before, in this study, the editorial contents of the NYT has been considered as social reality or political ideology of the NYT whereas stated policy has been considered as social reality or political ideology of the policy-makers of the State Department.

Therefore, it is hypothesized that the framing of the NYT's social reality or political ideology will coincide with the framing of the policy-makers social reality or political ideology in all three phases. This will be demonstrated through an investigation of the contents of the NYT unsigned editorials and the stated US policy toward Pakistan.

Methodology:

The methodology employed in this study is a combination of content analysis as defined by Berelson (1952) and Budd (1969). In addition, a method suggested by Tankard et al (1991) has also been applied (with minor modification) to measure the social reality/frame/ideology on a three point scale. According to this method, a list of possible frames has been established for the domain of news contents and a definition and list of indicators for each frame on the list. Coders are involved in a content analysis of news content indicators, and assign each editorial to a frame. The list of frames might not be exhaustive, and in fact the list for a particular domain would to some extent be shaped or created inductively by looking at the contents of the editorials.

Framing often showed up at certain focal points of news presentations--often points that news producers use to emphasize elements of the news. We called these points "framing mechanisms," and in this study, they include the following:

a. Leads

b. Concluding statements/paragraphs of editorials.

We also found that when attempting to identify frames it helped to read a number of editorials and compare them with one another. This served to highlight differences in framing.

Tankard's (1991) rules and procedures were followed to identify frames:

1. Have a minimum of three people read the editorials, identify the issues and rate them.

2. Jot down the frames, idioms, phrases, catchy words/key words or slogans that are identified or mentioned. Many of them take the form of pro and anti.

3. Once all the possible frames are identified, eliminate the ones that appear infrequently and then go back and look at the articles to determine what specific language and arguments serve as indicators for each frame.

In this study, the unit of analysis is the unsigned editorial. The indexes of the NYT and the NEXIS data base information about the NYT were the main sources of the study. No sample has been taken in this study and a complete issue by issue investigation was done of the NYT's editorials during the period of 1980-1990 to ensure the inclusion of all editorials in the study.

Descriptive phrases and adjectives used by journalists were identified as 'frames' and were classified into two issues. The researcher found an immense and frequent connection between US aid and Pakistan's nuclear program. Therefore, both of these topics were embodied in one category. To make classification mutually exclusive, decisions were made on the basis of content potentially related to the particular issues ('A' and 'B') and the judgments of the coders:

(A) Issue of Afghanistan: all unsigned editorials consisting of all items related to the issue of Afghanistan which mention Pakistan or carry the dateline of Pakistan or US policy with respect to Pakistan's position on Afghanistan).

(B) US military and economic aid to Pakistan and Pakistan's nuclear program.

To measure the direction of the contents/social reality of the NYT, I adopted the method that Berelson calls "the total problem" i.e.the assumption that the meanings reside in "the totality of impression" or the Gestalt, and not in the atomistic combination of measurable units[22]. This totality of impression was used to determine the "direction" or "orientation" of the communication. For the purpose of reliability the data were ranked for direction on a three point-scale : supportive (+), neutral (0), and opposite (-) with regard to research questions. To achieve acceptable levels of reliability, category boundaries were defined, coders were trained, and a pilot study with a fresh coder was conducted to check inter-coder reliability. To calculate inter-coder reliability Holsti's (1969) formula[23]was used. In this study reliability levels were 90%, 100% and 90% in all the three phases respectively. During the investigation, the researcher faced difficulty classifying two editorials[25]. To make the judgement more reliable, I used five coders from the University of Iowa. All were in agreement with my judgement in this regard. Therefore, one was classified as (A) whereas the other was classified as (B).

Limitations:

1. As for the stated foreign policy aspect of this study, most of the information was gathered from the US *Department of State Bulletin* and from Congressional publications. Directions of the contents were measured separately in different phases with regard to the US policy in those phases. Admittedly, a degree of judgement is involved in interpreting these documents and arriving at conclusions about overall foreign policy. Nonetheless, these were 'official' records of policy.

2. It is admitted that the contents of the unsigned editorials of NYT have been considered as the political ideology of the NYT in the case of Pakistan[26]. Moreover, this study failed to adopt any method for the measurement of the ideology of the NYT.

Findings

During 1980-1990, a total of 50 editorials on the two above-mentioned topics were published in the NYT, i.e., a total of 24 (48%) on (A) and 26 (52%) on topic (B).

Seven editorials were written on the above two topics (A & B) in the NYT during Phase I (i.e., January 1980--January 31, 1981) of the foreign policy. Only two editorials were about issue (A) in the NYT whereas five were related to issue (B). The NYT gave a balanced and neutral treatment (50% and 50%) to the issue of Afghanistan (A) while giving a highly negative treatment (100%) to Pakistan's nuclear program (B). All editorials on (B) were highly negative to the US policy towards Pakistan during this Phase (see Table 1).

A total of 28 editorials were written during Phase II (i.e., February 1981--April 14, 1988). Out of 28, 12 were written on issue (A) whereas 16 were related to issue (B). In this phase, the NYT overall gave a favorable and balanced treatment of Pakistan on issue

(A) (i.e., 41 % and 37.3 %), but gave a highly negative (87 %) treatment to issue (B) (see Table-2).

In Phase III (March 2, 1988--August 1990), the NYT was very supportive (90 %) to US policy on issue (A) as compared with Phases I and II, but remained consistently negative (100 %) on issue (B) (see Table-3)

Table 4 indicates that on issue (A), the NYT was overall (62.5%) supportive of US policy during the period of study (1980-90), particularly in Phase III.

Table 5 indicates that the NYT did not support US policy on issue (B) at all. It was very negative (92.3%) concerning US policy on (B), especially during Phase II (the period of the Reagan administration). Out of 26 editorials on this issue, none was supportive of US policy in any of the phases.

In regard to RQ 1, the NYT overall (in all the three phases of foreign policy) supported (62.5%) the US foreign policy towards Pakistan's position on Afghanistan (A). Nevertheless, this support was not very enthusiastic (see Table 4).

As far as RQ 2 & 3 are concerned, it may be concluded that the NYT showed its serious concern on US policy of lifting ban on US military and economic aid to Pakistan without any satisfactory assurances about Pakistan nuclear program.

In Phase I, the NYT tried to motivate the policy-makers to be careful and cautious about any decision concerning US military and economic aid to Pakistan. It published five editorials on issue (B), and all were negative to US policy. The NYT opposed US military and economic aid to Pakistan in its editorials. These editorials connected the issue of military and economic aid with Pakistan's nuclear program and Pakistan's Islamic status, repeatedly reminding the US policy-makers of the experience of the Islamic Fundamentalist regime in Iran[26].

The tone of the NYT's editorials during Phase II (Reagan's administration) was very harsh and direct. During this phase (Feb. 1981--April 14, 1988), out of 28 editorials, 12 were written on issue (A). The NYT's editorial treatment to issue (A) was supportive and balanced (i.e., 41.66 % and 33.3 %) whereas a total of 16 editorials were on issue (B), out of which fourteen (87 %) were negative and two (12.5 %) were neutral. The NYT tried to manipulate Congress for the President's accountability. Moreover, it showed serious concern about Pakistan's nuclear program, urged that it be stopped, and advocated more decisive action than the mere termination of aid.[27]

In Phase III, the NYT carefully supported Bush's Afghan policy and emphasized political settlement. The NYT suggested that the US had no interest after the departure of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. It also supported the US policy to establish a broad base government in Afghanistan. The NYT suggested that Benazir's regime was the most suitable for finding a political settlement of this issue. In this phase, there seems to be a period of understanding between the Bush administration, Benazir's regime and the NYT. Fourteen (14) editorials were published, out of which 10 were on issue (A) and five were on issue (B). Unlike the other phases, the NYT gave favorable treatment to US policy on issue (A) (i.e., 90 %) but remained negative (100 %) on issue (B).

Table 4 indicates that overall, throughout the period (1980-1990), the NYT gave favorable (60.8 %) and balanced (21.7 %) treatment to issue (A) while giving highly negative treatment (92.3 %) to issue (B). In light of these findings, the hypothesis of the study has been partially rejected. Therefore, it is speculated that in general, there was not much agreement between the social reality or frame of the NYT and the social reality or frame of the policy-makers, especially during phase II. The NYT remained consistently negative to the US policy on military aid to Pakistan (B) in all the three phases of the Pakistan-US relationship. However, there were some gestures of agreement between US policy-makers and the NYT on this issue at the end of Phase III when a significant shift was observed in the US policy on an Afghan solution and US military support to Pakistan, leading toward a political solution instead of a military solution of the Afghan conflict.

Discussion

Since the unit of analysis was unsigned editorials, it was difficult to find many 'frames' in fifty editorials in the forms of key words, phrases or slogans. Social reality or ideology of the NYT has been judged through critical examination of the entire contents of the editorials. Sometimes it was a full sentence, line or a word.

The study of NYT's editorials indicate that it supported the just cause of Afghanistan to support the anti-communism policy of the United States (Gabriel, 1988; Rifai, 1987). It seems as if the NYT was more concerned with Paksitan's nuclear program than on the issue of Afghanistan. The NYT viewed the Afghan issue (A) through the issue of US military and economic aid to Pakistan (B). It (NYT) also tied this discussion to Pakistan's nuclear program and its Islamic status. It warned the US policy-makers to be careful about military aid to Pakistan, and opposed the military regime in Pakistan. In an editorial titled 'Counterpunching on Pakistan', NYT states:

> ...Though no one can yet say whether the Soviets intend to torment Pakistan, that country's security is now of urgent American concern. But it does not automatically follow that America must enter into open- ended arms sales to a divided country ruled by an erratic Islamic fundamentalist. ...Pakistan's Gen. Zia is so unsure of his hold that he has postponed elections four times. Pakistan has repeatedly declined to take steps that would prevent it not embarking on nuclear weaponry. The congressional restrictions could be lifted instantly if Gen. Zia allowed meaningful inspection of Pakistan's nuclear plant. His failure to do so can be read only one way. Weighing these risks, Mr. Carter may sensibly conclude that the circumstances nonetheless justify immediate military help to Pakistan. Moreover, American should press for assurances that Islamabad will improve the lot of its aggrieved ethnic minorities (January 6, 1980).

In Phase II, it is evident that US military aid to Pakistan and Pakistan's nuclear program was at the top of the agenda of the NYT. It seems as if it was the policy of the NYT to oppose US military aid to Pakistan and to resist Pakistan's nuclear program. (see editorial "No Peanuts for Pakistan", March 18, 1980). The NYT was consistently in opposition to US military aid to Pakistan. When Pakistan agreed to accept American aid after getting some assurance from the US State Department, the NYT did not stop criticizing Pakistan and continued exhorting American decision-makers to ask for meaningful assurances regarding Pakistan's nuclear program. The NYT consistently attempted to open a debate on this issue[28]. During the Reagan Presidency, the NYT adopted a very direct tone towards Reagan's policy of supporting Pakistan with heavy weaponry. It referred to the Reagan's policy as "buying friends with weaponry" and "supply side-diplomacy."[29] In this phase the NYT continued to influence the policy-makers and Congress to check the Reagan administration, which it referred as an "amnesia-prone administration."[30]

In Phase III, the NYT supported the Bush administration's policy on Afghanistan but remained consistently negative on issue (B). There was, however, complete harmony between the US and Pakistan on issue (A). Benazir's regime was favored by the Bush administration (see statement of Deputy assistant secretary of Defence, footnote #12). Both regimes agreed to a political settlement and to form a broad-based government in Afghanistan. Both the US and Pakistan were also interested in bringing Zahir Shah from Italy to play a role[31]. This proposal for a political settlement was rejected by the Mujahideen and the previous regimes (Zia and Junejo) in Pakistan. It also suggested the adoption of a lenient attitude toward the Soviet Union. The editorials suggested that no American interest was left in this region after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.[32] They also suggested that Benazir was the most suitable leader for US' interests. The NYT characterized Benazir as an effective and pragmatic bargainer for the US. The paper portrayed her as secular and less hostile towards Najibullah and India. In addition, editorials urged the US administration not to miss this opportunity to talk on Afghanistan. The NYT not only favored ending US military aid to Pakistan, citing the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, but also recognized the beginning of a shift in US policy towards a political dialogue,[33] leading to the speculation that the NYT had its own policy/ideology/frame regarding US policy toward Pakistan. It is noted that the NYT remained consistent with its policy throughout 1980-90. This policy, however, most often coincided with the US policy on Afghanistan (A), but did not coincide with US policy on Pakistan's nuclear program and US military and economic aid to Pakistan.

The of NYT's editorials reveals that NYT tends to view US-Pakistan relations through the window of Indian interests. Since Indian factor always remain as important factor in US-Pakistan relations. The NYT opposes US policy towards Pakistan and considered it to be a threat for India. Despite the Indian alignment with the Soviet Union during the 70's, the NYT took a favorable stance towards India. In addition to these critical editorials, the NYT continued its efforts to influence State Department officials. When the US made a clear announcement to supply arms to Pakistan, the NYT reassured State Department officials worried about Pakistan's nuclear program.

When the State Department made the decision of economic and military aid to Pakistan, the NYT not only criticized the decision but also suggested supplying nuclear fuel to India. It went on to express its support of Indian concerns regarding US military aid to Pakistan and Pakistan's nuclear program[34] in nine editorials. Pakistan proposed a simultaneous inspection of the nuclear plants of both India and Pakistan. Zia-ul-Haq, the President of Pakistan, stated in an interview:

> Let's have an even-handed policy from international agencies and also from countries like the United States to deal with India and Pakistan on the same plane. Pakistan's offer is that if India agrees to sign a nuclear non proliferation treaty, we will be signing one minute before...Let's have mutual inspection of both nuclear installations, and if that is not acceptable, let's have a bilateral nuclear nonproliferation treaty, and if that is not acceptable, an international agreement. What's good for the goose is good for the gander. Why is Pakistan alone to be put on the spot? (Interview, United Nations, New York, Oct. 20/1985 The NYT, 10-21:6.)

Despite Pakistan's willingness for international inspection of its nuclear installations, the NYT continued to view Pakistan's nuclear program with suspicion, but not India's.

It is likely that the NYT adopted the same policy against Pakistan as was adopted against the US military aid to Saudi Arabia, and there are striking similarities. In case of US arms supply to Saudi Arabia (an ally of the US), the NYT highlighted the Israeli fears that arms sold to Saudi Arabia could be used against Israel. Its editorial position seems uncompromising on this subject. In William Safire's words, "we oppose the sale of murderous weaponry to this enemy state"(NYT - 3-12-1981). Hammond (1987) argues that he (Safire) ignored the fact that Saudi Arabia is not an enemy of the US, nor has it "murdered"anyone's citizens with American weaponry. The fact that Israel has taken over Saudi territory, threatened its oil fields, and overflown its borders is not mentioned. Arms coverage is also misleading when Saudi arms purchases (paid for at high prices as a means of "recycling petro-dollars") are termed "aid" while Israeli arms (subsidized by US tax dollars) are termed "purchases"(see "US Supplied Arms Play A Crucial Role in Mideast" -- the NYT 6-14-1981). Arms sales were such a continuously contentious topic, (due to strong opposition from the Israeli lobby) that Saudi Arabia eventually turned to other countries for many of its arms purchases (see Karen De Young, "British Get $ 4.5 billion plane order,"*Washington Post*, 9-27-1985).[35] It seems as if the NYT opposes military buildup of any Muslim country whether it has any evidence of Islamic practice or not.

I speculate that the NYT adopted the same policy against Pakistan as was adopted against the US military aid to Saudi Arabia. Strong pro-Palestinian policy of Pakistan might be another probable reason of NYT' hostility towards Pakistan. It should be noted that Pakistan since its independence has been a staunch supporter of Palestinian cause and has always condemned Israeli's atrocities in Palestine.

The NYT took a strong stand against its own country's policy of US military and economic aid to Pakistan. In its editorials, the NYT did not consider the Soviet operation in Afghanistan as a serious threat to Pakistan's security. In addition, it has been noted that the NYT's editorials failed to hide their bias against Islam. This anti-Islam and consequently pro-Israeli bias of the NYT is a probable reason for the negative treatment of Pakistan in NYT's editorials. Israel is very much concerned about the military and nuclear build up of any emerging Muslim power, especially Pakistan[36]. Therefore, one possible reason might be the sophisticated Jewish lobby's control of the NYT, particularly the editorial page, as described by Chafets (1985) and Ghareeb (1983):

> The NYT, America's most influential newspaper, is owned by the Sulzberger family. Many of America's leading editors are Jewish, including A. M. Rosenthal of the NYT. There are a number of Jews among America's most prominent syndicated columnists, including Anthony Lewis, Flora Lewis, and William Safire of the NYT (Chafets, 1985: 276-278).

The NYT editorials consistently criticized Pakistan's Islamic posture and tried to portray the image of Pakistan as a fundamentalist state patterned after Iran. There might be cultural and ideological misunderstandings concerning Islam.

According to Tunstall (1970) much news organization policy is traditional and relatively fixed. While most policies are not written down, journalists can learn them by experience and by observing what kinds of stories are used by the organization. The influence of the financier ideology on content is not necessarily direct. It operates through the entire process of gathering, shaping and transmitting news, with differing patterns of competition, interaction with social and institutional sources, journalists orientation, and news gathering routines resulting from each unique mix of financing sources (Shoemaker, 1987). This study supports the views of Tunstall and Shoemaker and speculates that the NYT has a political ideology on the issue of nuclear or military build up of any Muslim country.

On the basis of the studies of Becker (1977) and Ramaprasad (1984), it can be speculated that the NYT, in contrast to a huge body of literature (including its own role in the past), did not support the dominance theory, but rather the libertarian (adversarial and watch-dog) paradigm in the case of Pakistan. It seems as if the NYT has its own policy policy based on its own ideology towards the Muslim World's military build up. therefore, it (NYT) opposes Pakistan's nuclear program.

While the NYT editorials failed to influence the US policy-makers on Pakistan in Phase I and Phase II, it was influential in Phase III. This view is also supported by Wes

Gallagher, the president of the Associated Press for fifteen years, who said in an interview that the editorial judgement of the NYT was neither decisive nor effective. Gallagher states that he did not believe that the administration was influenced by the editorials because he felt that in many cases the editors were feeding off information filtered and leaked by the administration itself.[37]

Summary and Conclusion:

This research challenges several studies (Bokhory, 1989; Agbese & Ogbondeh, 1988; Armstrong, 1973; Alfonso, 1971; Tadoyan, 1980 and Pirouz, 1985) which concluded that overall, the US media support the American governmental policies and give favorable treatment to the countries where US political, economic and military interests lie. The conclusion of this paper also refutes studies (Frances, 1967; Mills, 1969; Houghton, 1965; Liu, 1969; Kam , 1979; Dewey, 1967; Kriesberg, 1946; Paletz and Entman, 1981; and Lynch and Effendi, 1964) which show that the US media support American governmental policies. On the other hand, this study supports the findings of Becker (1977), Ramaprasad (1983), Brown (1980), and Kuan-Hsing Chen (1983) which show that the US media do not necessarily support American governmental policy, because, in a free press system, the press is not supposed to be an actor in inter-governmental interactions. The study also supports Ghareeb (1983), Hammond (1987), and Chaffet (1985), and speculates that due to its pro-Israeli tendency, the NYT adopted an anti-Islam character.

While it is very difficult to make a generalization about the treatment of Pakistan in the NYT, in a broad sense, it can be said that between the late 60's and 80's the role of the *New York Times* was adversarial to the US policy toward Pakistan. Thus, it followed the adversarial paradigm. Three probable reasons are described for the NYT's anti-Pakistan character:

1. pro-Indian tilt
2. anti-Islam bias/pro-Israeli lobby

Pakistan was portrayed differently during the different regimes in Pakistan. During martial law, Pakistan was framed or portrayed as a country leading towards an erratic fundamentalist Islamic state, and Zia-ul-Haq was portrayed or framed as a typical third world dictator, a devout Muslim autocratic partner of the United States, Pakistan's strong man, and a leader of an unstable regime. Benazir was framed as secular, effective, less hostile towards Najibullah and India, a credible democratic leader and a pragmatic bargainer for the United States. In addition, it is interesting to note that the NYT was very critical and harsh in three editorials towards Engineer Gulbadeen Hikmatyar, the most powerful leader of the Afghan Mujahideen. Hikmatyar was framed as ultra-fundamentalist and anti-Western (see NYT's editorial, April 12, 1988). The findings indicate that the NYT used several frames while constructing its social reality. It consistently framed Pakistan and its leaders as fundamentalist, fanatic, conservative, dictatorial, tyrannical, unstable and undemocratic, with an emphasis on the emerging nuclear power of the region. Simultaneously, the NYT framed US policy during the Reagan administration as "buying friends with weaponary" and called the Reagan administration the "amnesia-prone administration".

The study reveals that the NYT relentlessly reminded the US authorities and policy-makers not to forget the lesson of Iran. The paper also tried to open a policy debate on US military and economic aid to Pakistan. In light of the findings of the data and discussion, it can be concluded that the NYT was very critical of the United States foreign policy towards Pakistan, especially on the issue of military and economic aid to Pakistan. Congruence was found between the social reality or frame of the NYT and social reality or frame of the policy-makers in the last phase, whereas little congruence was found in first two phases of US foreign policy toward Pakistan, except on the Afghan issue. In the case of Pakistan, the approach and ideology of the NYT was the same as in the coverage of Saudi Arabia[38] . Since the news media are themselves political institutions, policy-oriented studies inevitably have political and ideological implications which science cannot resolve but which the researcher cannot avoid (Gans, 1983:174). Therefore, it is speculated that the NYT has its own policy concerning Muslim countries and is very concerned about the military or nuclear build up of any Muslim power. The study reveals that there was agreement between the social reality or frame of the NYT and the State Department whenever the State Department adopted or stated a policy in opposition to Pakistan's military and nuclear build up. On the other hand, the social reality of the NYT -- differed from and opposed the social reality or frame of the State Department if the State Department adopted a policy supportive of Pakistan's military build up or did not demonstrate any serious concern over Pakistan's nuclear program.

In light of the findings, it is concluded that the NYT overall developed a social reality which opposed US military aid to Pakistan and Pakistan's nuclear program, whereas it supported the US policy on the issue of Afghanistan (A), especially during Phase III. On a broad level, then, the relationship between US foreign policy towards Pakistan and the press falls within the frame of the Libertarian theory rather than Dominance theory. In a democratic country like the US, the press does not necessarily follow the policy-makers' position. In the case of Pakistan, the NYT played the role of a smart watch-dog following the 'adversarial model' while at the same time supporting US policy on (A) (especially during Phase III) and following the 'advocacy model'. It can therefore be concluded that in the case of US policy towards Pakistan, the role of the NYT is partly adversarial and interactory (as defined by Dennis) and partly advocative. The findings of this study are similar to the findings of Ramaprasad (1984), Becker (1977), and Hammond (1987), indicating that the NYT adopted a stand independent of government policy towards Pakistan.

This study seems closer to the idea of Shoemaker (1987) that financiers (news organization) hold various ideological positions on various issues, depending on the relevance the issue holds for that particular financier (Shoemaker, 1987: 23). Therefore, it is speculated that the NYT holds an ideological position in opposition to the military and nuclear build up of Pakistan because the build up of a Muslim country is of particular relevance to the NYT. That is, at macro level, the NYT followed the libertarian/adversarial/ watch-dog paradigm, whereas at organizational level (Altschull's economic model) it tended to follow the Dominance theory.

Phase I

Table 1
Jan.1980--Jan. 31, 1981

(N=7)

Category	Supportive	Negative	Neutral
A (Afghanistan) (n=2)	1 (50%)	0 (0%)	1 (50%)
B (US military. and Eco. aid) (n=5)	0 (0%)	5 (100%)	0 (0%)

Phase II

Table 2
February, 1981--April 14, 1988

(N=28)

Category	Supportive	Negative	Neutral
A (n=12)	5 (41.66%)	3 (25%)	4 (33.3%0
B (n=16)	0 (0%)	14 (87.5%)	2 (12.5%)

Phase III

Table 3
November, 1988--August 1990

(N=15)

Category	Supportive	Negative	Neutral
A (n=10	9 (90%)	1 (10%)	0 (0%)
B (n=5)	0 (0 %)	5 (100 %)	0 (0 %)

Table 4

(Overall characterization of (A) during 1980-1990)

Phase	Supportive	Negative	Neutral
I--1980-1981	1	-	1
II--1981-1988	5	3	4
III--1988-1990	9	1	-
Total (n=24)	15 (62.5 %)	4 (16.66 %)	5 (20.83 %)

Table 5

Overall characterization of (B) during 1980-1990)

Phase	Supportive	Negative	Neutral
I--1980-1981	0	5	0
II--1981-1988	0	14	2
III--1988-1990	0	5	0
Total (n=26)	0	24 (92.3 %)	2 (7.7 %)

Notes

1

2For full text, see, Department of State Historical Office, Bureau of Public Affairs, *American Foreign Policy, Current Documents*, 1959, Arno Press, New York, 1971. pp.1020-22).

[3] Excerpt from the statement of Deputy Assistant Secretary Jane A. Coon before the subcommittees on Asian and Pacific Affairs and on International Economic Policy and Trade of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on April 27, 1981. This statement has been extracted from *The State Department Bulletin*, June, 1981.

[4] For further details, see theoretical framework

[5] A statement by Editorial Page Editor John B. Oakes in the 1974 Annual Report of the *New York Times* elaborated the newspaper's position. This statement was also cited by Chan Ying Kwong and Kenneth Starck in "*The New York Times*' Stance on Nixon and Public Opinion," in *Journalism Quarterly* (4) (Winter 1976), pp. 723-7

[6] Text from White House Press Release of Feb. 19, 1980, published in *The Department of State Bulletin*, March 1980, Vol. 80/No. 2036. Also Pres. Carter's interview in NBC's "Meet the Press" on January 20, 1980.

7ibid

8See *Department of State Bulletin*, March, 1980, P. 35.

[9] See *US State Department Bulletin*, vol. 81/No. 2051, p. 53-54

[10] This proposal does include the involvment of Zahir Shah (Ex. King of Afghanistan), living in Italy. Mujahideen categorically refused to accept any role for Zahir Shah in this conflict. This decision of Mujahideen was also dismissed by Pakistani regimes of that time (i.e., Zia and Jonejo regimes).

[11] See *The Europa World Year Book 1990*, vol. II, Europa Publications Ltd, Australia/ NewZealand/ London/ India.

[12] See Statement of Arthur Hughes, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, Near East and South Asian Affairs in US Congress House Committee on Foreign Affairs titled: "The Proposed Sale of F-16's To Pakistan", 101th Congress, Ist Session), August 2,1989 Washington D.C., US Government Printing Office, 1989

[13] See statement of John H. Kelly, Assistant Secretary of the State before the House of Foreign Affairs Sub-committee, March 7, 1990 (101th Congress, 2nd Session, march 7, 1990).

[14] "persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual" (Gitlin, 1980: 7).

[15] Hegemony refers to the processes by which ruling classes or groups shape popular consent through the production and diffusion of meanings, values, and beliefs by the major ideological institutions

[15] “Propaganda model” states that in case of foreign news coverage in the US media, the media tend to “marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across the public” in ways that promote elite hegemony (Herman & Chomsky, 1988:2).

[16] Gan's theory states that the mass media works to maintain the status quo or mass media reflects the ideology of the powerful. Ideological determinists believe that journalists align the news to the political ideology of those holding power in the country (Gans, 1979: 79).

[17] “Media refelct the ideology of the owners”(Altschull, 1984)

[18] The manipulative Model, however, conceives of news operation and mechanism as follows: Here the media and journalists are seen as acting directly in the interests of the owners, whose interests in turn are quite opposed to the public at large and to any true presentation of events in the world. The journalists are ideological hacks who select news according to the criterion of whether it serves the interests of their paymaster, omitting all else. They distort reality in order to fit the propagandistic needs of their employers (Cohen and Young, 1974: 17-18)

[19] Refers to the body of doctrines or beliefs that guides a particular individual, class or culture. Ideologies can be broad and generalized, such as favoring capitalism, or object-specific, such as supporting a particular candidate or piece of legislation.

[20] “The act of making news is the act of constructing reality itself rather than (simply) a picture of reality[20] (Tuchman, 1978:12).

[21] Whether there is a single dominant event schema depends heavily on the degree of consensus among elite new sources (see 3, 11). Where a significant elite fraction contests the dominant news frame, the text might promote conflicting event scemata, and the audience's processing of information will change. In the cases under study, however, there was little elite contestation.

[22] In his MPA study, Robert Prot followed this procedure in classifying contents in US magazines (Syracuse: Syracuse University,1965.p.6).

[23] $R= M/(N_{1}+ N_{2})$, where M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree, and N1 and N2 refer to the total number of coding decisions by the first and second coder, respectively.

[24] See editorials titled: “ Kicking the habit in Pakistan”--(NYT Aug. 18, 1983) and “ What now in Afghanistan”--(NYT April 3, 1989)

[25] This was done in light of the contents of the letter dated 05/21/91 from Rosemary Shields, assistant to Jack Rosenthal, Editorial Page Editor of NYT. Regarding NYT's policy on Pakistan, the editor suggested me to go through library's index of NYT on Pakistan and Afghanistan. According to the editor, they (editorials) are the opinions of NYT and speak for themselves.

[26] For example, See editorial “No Peanuts for Pakistan” in the NYT--March 10, 1980

[27] See editorials titled: “Stop Pakistan's Nuclear Bomb”--(March 13, 1987--NYT) and “Punish Pakistan's Perfidy on the Bomb”--(July 17,1987--NYT).

[28] See editorials titled, ‘Asia Needs Help, Not A-Bombs’----*The New York Times* (Jan.22,1980).

[29] See editorial of the NYT--July 19, 1981

[30] See editorial of the NYT dated November 2, 1981.

[31] This statement was made by one of the Afghan leaders in Peshawar (Pakistan) on August 1989.

[32] See editorial:"What now in Afghanistan?"(NYT--April 3, 1989)

[33] See editorial dated: August 18, 1988--NYT. Also see editorial: "Time to talk on Afghanistan". (NYT--September 22, 1989).

34For instance see editorials dated: March 10, 1980; Oct. 2, 1981; Dec. 10, 1982; and March 30, May 2, Dec. 3 in 1987.

35Also cited by Hammon, Victoria (1987).

[36] The destruction of the Iraqi nuclear reactor by Israelis is an appropriate example.

[37] Salwa Shtieh Rifai interviewed Wes Gallagher in Santa Barbra, California on June 3, 1986 and quoted in his thesis,*"The Palestinian guerrilla image in the New York Times during the Jordan crisis, 1970"*.

[38] For information see Hammond's (1987) thesis on NYT's coverage of Saudi Arabia.

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TOLERANCE OF SENIOR DAILY NEWSPAPER EDITORS FOR PHOTOGRAPHS OF PEOPLE WITH AIDS AND GAYS AND LESBIANS

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TOLERANCE OF SENIOR DAILY NEWSPAPER EDITORS FOR PHOTOGRAPHS OF PEOPLE WITH AIDS AND GAYS AND LESBIANS[1]

Introduction

For at least the past decade, newspaper editors and publishers and journalism educators have focused on racial and sexual diversity in the newsroom and in the content of the newspaper.[2] Only recently has this effort to diversify the newsroom and newspapers turned to a largely invisible minority, this country's large and increasingly active gay and lesbian community. In April 1990, the Human Resources Committee of the American Society of Newspaper Editors published Alternatives: Gays & Lesbians in the Newsroom, a pioneering study of the perceptions gay and lesbian journalists hold of their newspapers as work environments and of their newspapers' coverage of the gay and lesbian community.[3] This study, which found gay and lesbian journalists uneasy about their roles in newsrooms and critical of their papers' reporting on the lesbian and gay community, has fostered additional studies, including this paper on the tolerance of editors for photographs of gays and lesbians, that have found daily newspaper editors do not share the critical views of gay and lesbian journalists.[4]

That gay and lesbian reporters are critical of their own papers' coverage while editors are generally satisfied with it might be expected. Long conspicuous by their absence in reportage, lesbians and gays did gain greater recognition and acceptance during the 1970s; but, in the 1980s, their movement was subsumed in the outbreak of the AIDS epidemic. Gays have criticized the media for labeling the disease, in titillating reports, first as the "gay disease" and then for further stigmatizing gays by associating AIDS and gays with IV-drug users. Not only were they the victims of the disease in their own lives and in media reports, but they were also cast as villains to be feared for spreading the disease. Particularly troubling to critics of this media slant, critics such as Randy Shilts and James Kinsella, was the fact that it left the nature of the disease and how to avoid its spread poorly covered, at least in the early stages of the epidemic, with the result that thousands of people suffered and died unnecessarily. Gays understandably argue that news managers ignored the disease and its seriousness, using the excuse that mainstream readers and viewers would have little interest in a disease whose only victims were gay men. When heterosexuals and people who were not gay began contracting AIDS, coverage of the disease increased dramatically.[5]

The treatment of AIDS has received the lion's share of discussions of media treatment of gays and lesbians. Timothy Cook, however, considers poor coverage of AIDS just another example of how the news gathering process itself causes the media to overlook the gay and lesbian community. Cook points not to homophobia of editors but to self-censorship built into a system that prohibits stories potentially offensive to the "average" family audience.[6] For Larry Gross, protecting the "average" family audience from offensive stories is merely one aspect of television's mainstreaming function--the cultivation of a "relative commonality of outlooks and values" in viewers who derive their knowledge of the world from this mediated reality. Normally and historically, lesbians and gays are absent from this shared "reality," and suffer from what Gross terms "symbolic annihilation." Those people not represented remain invisible to viewers and, therefore, powerless. When groups do appear, their representation reflects the views of the elite who define the public agenda; and for groups that remain substantially anonymous anyway, such as the gay and lesbian community, this mediated representation of the group becomes a particularly powerful "reality" for viewers and readers.[7]

Gross' mainstreaming model helps explain media coverage of the AIDS epidemic and of gays and lesbians with more sophistication than simply blaming homophobia of editors or relying on Cook's news processing restraints. Largely invisible until the early 1970s, when they gained media attention through parades, protests and political involvement, gays and lesbians were represented as pathetic victims and immoral villains as their movement was subsumed in the media panic over AIDS. Frustrated by media inattention and government inaction in the face of thousands of gays dying from the disease, militant gays and lesbians regained media attention in the late 1980s. They again took to the streets and militants began "outing" public figures, which forced news managers to anguish over reporting the sexual orientation of prominent politicians, business leaders, government spokespersons, and celebrities. Again, news managers must weigh whether revealing sexual orientation or AIDS-related deaths will offend the "average" family audience, will disturb the mainstream view of "reality."[8]

Gross' model also explains the effects of the victim photographs that often accompany coverage of AIDS, illustrations of patients reminiscent of traditional icons of disease and plague common from the Middle Ages forward. They present readers with an image of gays as pathetic victims.[9] It also explains the desensitizing value of photographs of gays and lesbians engaging in such common human activities as holding hands, embracing or kissing.[10] These present readers with an image of gays or lesbians as ordinary and normal members of our society.

Gross' concern is television, which he believes needs to be demassified and made more diverse in its presentation of "reality." The tolerance of senior daily newspaper editors for publishing sensitive photographs of gays and lesbians is the focus of this paper. Still community-based enterprises, daily newspapers--even large metropolitan dailies--have the opportunity to provide an alternative to Gross' mass-mediated "reality." Newspapers can and do serve as a tool to demassify television's mainstreamed culture by focusing on realities closer to the lives of their readers. How closely they approximate reality for their readers depends in large measure on the openness of senior editors, the gatekeepers surveyed for this study. The reaction of these editors to photographs of people presented as victims in an AIDS clinic and to gays or lesbians demonstrating normal affection for one another indicates how willing or unwilling editors are to break from the parameters set by the television culture Gross defines. Their responses to the hypothetical photographs indicate how concerned senior editors are about offending the "average" family reader.

This opportunity newspapers have to better serve their readers by better representing reality in their photographs, illustrations and news columns than does television has commercial as well as social value. Estimates of the size of the lesbian and gay community, depending the definition of homosexual activity, range from 4 to 37 percent; although an estimate of 10 percent of the population is typical.[11] This is a large group of potential readers to ignore, a large well-educated group with far more discretionary income than most newspaper readers. Gays and lesbians, in fact, constitute a dream market for newspapers. While 20 percent of the general population hold college degrees, 60 percent of gays and lesbians do. While average household income for the general population is $36,520, gays have an average household income of $51,325 and lesbians one of $45,927. Surveys of gays and lesbians also show them to be avid readers.[12]

Method

The present study focuses on how senior editors at daily newspapers across the country view the use of photographs portraying gays and lesbians, particularly on how appropriate these editors consider publication in their papers of photographs depicting patients in the privacy of an AIDS clinic and gays or lesbians publicly showing affection for one another. The survey instrument used in this study included four statements describing photographs containing subjects of varying sensitivity: photographs of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic and photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands, embracing or kissing. The editors were instructed to respond with "strongly agree,"

"agree somewhat," "disagree somewhat" or "strongly disagree" to the following statements:

> It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic.
>
> It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.
>
> It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing.
>
> It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.

The telephone survey also included 41 other items asking senior editors about their views and their papers' practices in reporting on the issues and concerns of the gay and lesbian community. Areas covered included their paper's overall reporting and play of stories; reporting on AIDS and other specific issues and concerns; quality of coverage; and editors' views of effects of coverage on gays, lesbians, and mainstream readers. Such demographic information as the paper's circulation and the editor's title, education and newspaper experience was also gathered. Editors' responses to these items on the survey and their responses to the four hypothetical photographs of gays or lesbians in sensitive situations were crosstabulated. Level of significance selected was .05.

The sample of 450 senior editors for this study was drawn from a list of the nation's 1575 daily newspapers, arranged in descending order of circulation. This list, provided by Editor & Publisher, first was divided into ten segments, with each segment representing ten percent of the total daily newspaper circulation in the United States. Forty-five managing editors, associate editors, city or metropolitan editors, or news editors were selected from the dailies included in each segment of the list. Those newspapers with large circulations obviously contributed more than one senior editor to the sample. Similarly, only one senior editor from several papers was selected for the sample from the segments containing dailies with small circulations.

Each of the 450 senior editors selected was notified by letter and received a call requesting participation. Eventually 227 editors from 202 daily newspapers completed the 25-minute telephone interview. Those interviewed included 71 managing editors, 95 city or metro editors, 30 news editors and 31 other senior editors; 180 were male, 47 were female. They averaged 40.6 years of age, had an average of 17.2 years of newspaper experience and had completed an average of 4.6 years of education beyond high school. Of the 227 editors interviewed, 141 had completed a journalism major. Interviews for this study were conducted between February 28 and May 10 of 1991 by trained interviewers from the Bush Research Center at Ohio University's E. W. Scripps School of Journalism.

Findings

Although they expressed less disagreement with the statement that it would not be appropriate to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing, senior editors overwhelmingly disagreed with all four statements that it would not be appropriate for their newspapers to publish any of these sensitive photographs of gays or lesbians. Despite disagreement with the four statements, it is noteworthy that senior editors were more reluctant to publish an affectionate, public photograph of gays or lesbians kissing than they were to invade the privacy of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic. This greater willingness to publish photographs of patients in an AIDS clinic, when combined with results of crosstabulations of responses to the photographs and to other items on the survey, suggests that senior editors are more sensitive about the potential reactions of their mainstream readers to controversial photographs than they are to the effects publication of private images has on people with AIDS and their lovers, families, and friends. Statistically significant crosstabulations also yielded some expected findings. Editors at larger papers, editors with post-baccalaureate education and city and metropolitan editors were more open to publishing photographs of gays and lesbians. Editors who think providing more information will improve the position of gays and lesbians in society and editors who hold positive views of their papers' reporting on issues and concerns of gays and lesbians were also more open to printing photographs of gays and lesbians.

Senior daily newspaper editors, as noted, disagreed overwhelmingly with the four statements regarding the inappropriateness of publishing sensitive photographs of gays or lesbians. In response to the statement, "It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic," 47.8 percent of the 227 editors surveyed "strongly disagree" and 36.2 percent "disagree somewhat." Only 9.3 percent "agree somewhat" and 6.7 percent "strongly agree" that such a photograph would not be appropriate for their papers (Table 1).

By an even greater number, senior editors disagreed with the statement, "It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands." Of the editors surveyed, 51.6 percent "strongly disagree" and 37.3 percent "disagree somewhat" with this statement. Only 7.6 percent "agree somewhat" and 3.6 percent "strongly agree" that such a photograph would not be appropriate for their papers (Table 1).

A slightly smaller majority of the editors disagreed with the statement "It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing." Of the editors surveyed, 45.3 percent "strongly disagree," 40.4 percent "disagree somewhat," 8.9 percent "agree somewhat," and 5.3 percent "strongly agree" with the statement (Table 1).

A majority of the editors, although a substantially smaller majority, also disagreed with the statement, "It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing." Of those responding, 38.9 percent "strongly disagree," 36.3 percent "disagree somewhat," 19 percent "agree somewhat" and 5.7 percent "strongly agree" with this statement (Table 1).

Three significant patterns are apparent in these responses to the four statements. First, editors were more resistant to publishing photographs of patients in an AIDS clinic than they were to publishing photographs of gays or lesbians either holding hands or embracing. While 16 percent of the editors "strongly agree" or "agree somewhat" that photographs from the AIDS clinic would be inappropriate, only 11.2 percent "strongly agree" or "agree somewhat" that photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands would be inappropriate and 14.2 percent "strongly agree" or "agree somewhat" that photographs of gays or lesbians embracing would be inappropriate for publication in their newspapers.

Second, senior editors were more resistant to publishing photographs of gays or lesbians kissing than to publishing photographs of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic. While only 16 percent of the editors "strongly agree" or "agree somewhat" that photographs of patients with AIDS would be inappropriate, nearly 25 percent of the editors "strongly agree" or "agree somewhat" that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing would be inappropriate for their papers.

Third, as anticipated, in their responses to the three statements describing gays or lesbians demonstrating affection toward one another, editors indicated increasing resistance to publication as the photographic content became increasingly intimate. Only 11.2 percent said they "strongly agree" or "agree somewhat" that photographs of lesbians or gays holding hands would be inappropriate. When presented with photographs of gays or lesbians embracing, however, this agreement increased to 14.2 percent. When photographs showed gays or lesbians kissing, 24.7 percent of the editors "strongly agree" or "agree somewhat" that such images would be inappropriate for their newspapers.

Responses of senior editors to demographic items on the survey, when crosstabulated with their responses to the four statements about intimate photographs of gays or lesbians, help define the characteristics of those editors most open to publishing photographs of gays or lesbians in their newspapers. The survey asked senior editors for information about their editorial position, age, sex, years of education beyond high school, years of newspaper experience, journalism education, paper's circulation and presence of a competing newspaper. Crosstabulations between the four statements covering photographs of people with AIDS or of gays or lesbians and demographic items relating to circulation, editorial position and years of education beyond high school yielded some statistically significant correlations at the .05 level and above.[13]

In the cases of the three photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands, embracing and kissing, circulation was found to correlate with editors' responses (Table 2). As circulation rose, editors expressed increasing disagreement with the statements, indicating greater tolerance for publishing photographs of gays and lesbians. Only 80.7 percent of the editors from papers with circulations under 50,000 disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands would be inappropriate for their newspapers by comparison to nearly 92 percent of editors from papers with circulations between 50,000 and 199,999 and nearly 96 percent of editors from papers with circulations above 200,000. Similarly, only 77.6 percent of editors from papers under 50,000 disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians embracing would be inappropriate for their newspaper, but 87.5 percent of editors from papers of 50,000 to 199,999 and more than 94 percent of editors from papers above 200,000 disagreed. While slightly more than 70 percent of editors from papers under 50,000 disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing would be inappropriate, the percent of editors disagreeing stayed at nearly 70 percent for papers of 50,000 to 199,999 and rose to 87 percent for papers above 200,000. In each instance, editors from larger papers were clearly less resistant to publishing photographs of gays or lesbians demonstrating affection for one another. Although not significant at the .05 level, this same pattern held for responses to the propriety of publishing the photograph of patients in an AIDS clinic.[14]

Responses to these statements also correlated with the editorial positions the senior editors held at their papers (Table 3). City and metropolitan editors consistently were more tolerant than either managing editors or news editors of publishing any of the photographs of gays or lesbians showing affection to one another. More than 81 percent of managing editors, those editors most interested in policy matters for their papers, and slightly more than 83 percent of news editors, those editors most concerned with technical aspects of editing their papers, disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands would be inappropriate. However, nearly 94 percent of the city and metropolitan editors, those editors closest to the stories and reporters, disagreed with this statement. A similar pattern emerged in response to the statement, "It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing." In this instance, while 75.4 percent of the managing editors and 83.3 percent of the news editors disagreed, nearly 92 percent of the city and metropolitan editors disagreed. Likewise, nearly 66 percent of the managing editors, 80 percent of the news editors, but more than 83 percent of the city and metropolitan editors disagreed that it would be inappropriate for the papers to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing. It should be noted that not only were the managing editors significantly less tolerant of the photographs than were city and metropolitan editors, but that this difference also increased as the content of the photographs became more intimate. While managing editors were not quite 13 percent less tolerant of publishing photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands, this difference rose to just under 17 percent for photographs of gays or lesbians embracing and to more than 17 percent for photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.

Responses regarding the propriety of publishing the three photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands, embracing or kissing also correlated with number of years of education past high school. Those editors with post-baccalaureate education were less resistant to publishing the photographs than were editors who completed four or fewer years of education past high school (Table 4). While 85.6 percent of editors with four or fewer years of education past high school disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands would be inappropriate for their papers, nearly 96 percent of editors with five or more years past high school disagreed. While 81.7 percent of editors with four or fewer years past high school disagreed that photographs of gays and lesbians would be inappropriate, 94.4 percent of those with five or more years disagreed. Similarly, slightly more than 68 percent of editors with four or fewer years past high school but more than 90 percent of those with five or more years disagreed with the statement, "It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing." Another pattern also should be noted from these crosstabulations. Not only were editors with less education significantly less tolerant of the photographs of gays or lesbians showing affection for each other than were editors with more education, but this difference--like that based on editorial position--also increased as the content of the images became more intimate. Editors with four or fewer years of education past high school were not quite 11 percent less tolerant than editors with post-baccalaureate education of photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands. This difference rose to about 13 percent for photographs of gays or lesbians embracing and to 22 percent for photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.

The survey also asked senior editors several psychographic questions, one of which when crosstabulated with the statements about photographs of gays and lesbians holding hands, embracing or kissing, yielded statistically significant correlations. As might be anticipated, those editors who disagreed with the statement, "Society is so homophobic that publishing the names of gays and lesbians in any capacity can seriously harm their careers and personal lives," were more likely to tolerate publishing photographs of gays or lesbians showing affection toward each other (Table 5). Only 84 percent of editors who agreed that publishing names can harm gays and lesbians also disagreed that photographs of gays and lesbians holding hands were inappropriate to publish. Nearly 94 percent of those who disagreed that publishing names can harm gays and lesbians also disagreed that such photographs would be inappropriate. For photographs of gays or lesbians embracing, 79.6 percent of those who agreed but 92 percent of those who disagreed that publishing names of gays and lesbians can seriously harm them also disagreed that such photographs would be inappropriate. For photographs of gays or lesbians kissing, 66.7 percent of those who agreed but 83.3 percent of those who disagreed about the danger posed by a homophobic society also disagreed that these photographs would be inappropriate for their papers.[15]

Another of the "psychographic" items asked senior editors to respond to the statement "Identifying business leaders, politicians, writers, sports heros, and celebrities as being gay or lesbian provides needed positive role models for young gays and lesbians." Responses to this statement netted a statistically significant correlation when crosstabulated against editors' responses to photographs of gays or lesbians kissing (Table 6). Those editors who felt identifying public figures as gay or lesbian provide needed role models were more tolerant of publishing photographs of gays and lesbians kissing. Nearly 80 percent of editors who agreed that identifying public figures as gay or lesbian "provides needed positive role models" also disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing would be inappropriate. Only 66.2 percent of editors who disagreed that identifying gays and lesbians provides needed role models also disagreed that such photographs would be inappropriate for their papers to publish.[16]

Editors surveyed were also asked to evaluate the quality of their paper's coverage of issues and concerns of the gay and lesbian community. Crosstabulations between editors' responses regarding newspaper coverage and their responses to the statements about the four hypothetical photographs yielded statistically significant results, too. In rating overall coverage of the lesbian and gay community and in rating coverage of particular issues and concerns of the lesbian and gay community by their newspapers, senior editors who rated their papers' coverage highly were more likely to disagree with the proposition that the four photographs would not be appropriate for their newspapers to publish than were editors who rated their papers' coverage poorly.

This correlation between tolerance for photographs of gays or lesbians and high ratings for their paper's coverage of gays and lesbians (Table 7) emerged in crosstabulations with responses to the question, "Overall, how would you rate your newspaper's play of stories on issues and concerns relating to lesbians and gays?" More than 97 percent of editors who responded positively, also disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands would be inappropriate. Only 80.5 percent of those who responded negatively disagreed. The same pattern was true for the photograph of gays or lesbians embracing. While 95.3 percent of editors who rated their papers' play of stories positively disagreed that such a photograph would be inappropriate, only 77.2 percent of those who rated their paper's play of stories negatively disagreed. Similarly, nearly 90 percent of editors who rated their papers' play of stories positively also disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing would be inappropriate; only 64 percent of those who rated their papers' play of stories negatively disagreed.

Similar patterns emerged from crosstabulations of editors' responses to the photographs of gays and lesbians and responses to the question "Overall, how would you rate your newspaper's reporting on issues and concerns relating to gays and lesbians?" Here, too, positive rating of reporting was associated with tolerance for publishing the photographs (Table 8). Of those editors who rated their papers' reporting positively, 96.7 percent disagreed that the photograph of hand holding would be inappropriate, 95.5 percent disagreed that the photograph of embracing would be inappropriate, and 87.8 percent disagreed that the photograph of gays or lesbians kissing would be inappropriate. Of those rating their papers' reporting negatively, only 83.5 percent disagreed that the photograph of hand holding would be inappropriate, 79.1 percent disagreed that the photograph of embracing would be inappropriate, and 66.4 percent disagreed that the photograph of kissing would be inappropriate.

Editors also were asked to evaluate their papers' coverage of several specific issues of concern to gays and lesbians, including AIDS, violence against gays and lesbians, lifestyles of lesbians and gays, gay and lesbian rights legislation, political activities of gays and lesbians, and events of the local gay community. Crosstabulations of responses of editors to the four photographs and to evaluating their papers' coverage of each of these issues yielded statistically significant associations for just one of the items, coverage of AIDS; and again positive ratings were associated with tolerance for the photographs.[17] Of editors who rated their newspapers' coverage of the AIDS epidemic positively, 88.5 percent disagreed that photographs of patients in an AIDS clinic would be inappropriate, 92.4 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands would be inappropriate, and 79.1 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing would be inappropriate. Of editors who rated their newspapers' coverage of AIDS negatively, only 73.4 disagreed that photographs of patients in an AIDS clinic would be inappropriate, 79.7 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands would be inappropriate, and 66.2 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing would be inappropriate.[18]

In the survey, editors were also asked to respond to several descriptive terms applied to their newspapers' reporting on issues and concerns of gays and lesbians. These terms included "sensitive," "complete," "careful," "balanced," "biased," "aggressive," "imaginative," "sensationalistic," and "authoritative." When replies were collapsed and "neutral" and "don't know" responses were eliminated, crosstabulations between editors' responses to these descriptors and their responses to the photographs resulted in statistically significant associations for four of the descriptors: "imaginative," "aggressive," "biased" and "authoritative." Again, editors characterizing their papers' reporting positively were more tolerant of publishing the photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands, embracing, or kissing.

Of the editors who agreed that their papers' reporting on issues and concerns of lesbians and gays was "imaginative," 98 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands were inappropriate, nearly 94 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians embracing were inappropriate, and nearly 88 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing were inappropriate. Of editors who disagreed that their papers' reporting was "imaginative," only 84.5 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands were inappropriate, 80.6 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians embracing were inappropriate, and 66.3 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing were inappropriate (Table 10).

For "aggressive" and "authoritative," only crosstabulations with responses to the statement regarding the kissing photograph yielded statistically significant associations. Of those editors who agreed that their papers' reporting on issues and concerns of gays and lesbians was "aggressive," nearly 91 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing were inappropriate. About 70 percent of those disagreeing that their papers' reporting was "aggressive" also disagreed that such a photograph was inappropriate for their papers (Table 11).[19] Of those editors who agreed that their papers' reporting on issues and concerns of lesbians and gays was "authoritative," 85.1 percent disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing would be inappropriate as compared to only 68.2 percent of those editors who disagreed that their reporting was authoritative (Table 12).[20]

Finally, when editors are asked if their papers' reporting on issues and concerns of gays and lesbians was "biased," the association between positive evaluation and tolerance for photographs of gays and lesbians continued. While 87.4 percent of those editors who disagreed that their papers' reporting was biased also disagreed that photographs of gays or lesbians kissing were inappropriate, only 58.3 percent of those who thought their papers' coverage was biased disagreed that such photographs were inappropriate for their newspapers.

Discussion

That senior editors by such an overwhelming majority considered it appropriate to publish all four hypothetical photographs described in the survey speaks well of their faith in readers and dedication to free exchange of information. The strength of this response to all four photographs was unexpected, especially to the photograph of gays or lesbians kissing. A possible explanation, however, for editors' stated tolerance for publishing sensitive photographs of gays and lesbians may well be professional bravado, a belief that their papers have the right to publish whatever they choose in line with their First Amendment freedoms. That editors would support publishing photographs of bed-ridden patients seems less surprising, since they are accustomed to publishing photographs of suffering from accidents, fires, natural disasters, wars and so forth. They also are accustomed to publishing photographs of alleged and convicted criminals. To editors, patients in an AIDS clinic seemed to share characteristics of both disaster victims and criminal drug users, as well as people engaged in "immoral" activities.

Despite showing overwhelming tolerance for these sensitive photographs, the results of this study indicate some senior editors may remain more responsive to the sensibilities of their "average" family readers or to mainstream culture than they are to the sensibilities of the gay and lesbian population and their lovers, families and friends. Two patterns emerging from the responses to the photographs suggest this. First, while editors are less tolerant of publishing photographs of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic than they are of publishing photographs of lesbians or gays holding hands or embracing, they are still far more willing to invade the privacy of the clinic than they are to publish photographs of lesbians or gays kissing. Clearly, the editors do not consider photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands or embracing particularly offensive to the average family reader, even though some editors are hesitant about invading the privacy of bed-ridden patients.[21] The decline in support for publishing photographs of lesbians and gays kissing, especially among policy-oriented managing editors, indicates that many editors think kissing will offend the average family reader. That a majority of the editors feel the clinic photograph would be appropriate to publish, despite the red flag it should send up about potential for tort action, suggests many editors have little concern about the grief the person with AIDS, or his or her family and friends, feel when the photograph appears in the daily newspaper. Second, the fact that the tolerance of editors for the photographs of gays and lesbians holding hands, embracing and kissing declines as the content becomes more intimate, also indicates that many editors feel it is more important to avoid offending readers than to treat lesbians and gays as they would heterosexuals.

As Gross' culturation model would suggest, the findings in this study also indicate that editors closest to the real world of gays and lesbians and editors less responsive to mainstream culture are most tolerant of these photographs of gays or lesbians. This explains why, as expected, tolerance for sensitive photographs increases as the circulation of the editors' papers rise. Editors at papers serving larger circulations are far more familar with the gay and lesbian community and its lifestyle and, therefore, less conditioned by television's mainstream stereotypes. Additionally, the readers of large circulation newspapers are more familiar with lesbians and gays and far less likely to be shocked by photographs of people and actions they may periodically encounter on the street. It also explains why city and metropolitan editors are more tolerant of these photographs than are managing editors. Because they are involved in the everyday tasks of assigning and editing stories emerging from a reality in which gays and lesbians are active participants, city and metropolitan editors in the study proved more tolerant of these photographs than more policy-oriented managing editors.

These findings support the culturation theory Gross advances to explain the dominance of television's mainstream culture. Editors at large circulation papers, city and metropolitan editors, and the readers of their newspapers all are familiar with gays and lesbians. They share the same reality, which makes both editors and readers less dependant on the stereotypes of mainstream culture for their understanding of the gay and lesbian community.[22] Research based on this culturation theory also explains why tolerance for the photographs increases among those editors with five or more years of education beyond high school. As Gerbner, Gross and their associates have noted, television use and its impact on viewers declines as the education level of viewers increases.[23]

The study also indicates many editors believe providing readers with complete and accurate information promises to improve the position of gays and lesbians in a homophobic society. A faith in the ameliorating effects of the free flow of information may explain why editors who disagreed that society is so homophobic that publishing names of gays and lesbians can seriously harm them and editors who agreed identifying prominent gays and lesbians provided positive role models also showed greatest tolerance for publishing photographs of lesbians and gays.

One of the most consistent associations found in this study was that editors who characterized their papers' play, coverage and reporting on gays and lesbians positively were most tolerant of publishing photographs of gays and lesbians showing affection for one another. This association was not anticipated, and is difficult to explain. One possibility, and without further research this is only speculation, is that the editors surveyed are convinced their papers are exemplary and as such provide exemplary news coverage, including news regarding gays and lesbians.

This consistent association of positive evaluation with tolerance and the fact that these editors were in general so overwhelmingly tolerant of publishing sensitive photographs of people with AIDS and of gays or lesbians showing affection clearly conflict with gay and lesbian criticism of the media. This conflict justifies further analysis of daily newspaper practice and content rather than of editors' attitudes toward gays and lesbians and their opinions of how their papers cover this hidden minority. Even though the culturation model helps explain several of the associations revealed in this study, a content analysis of the kinds of images daily newspapers actually print and of how regularly photographs of gays and lesbians appear is needed before these more surprising associations can be fully understood.

Appendix

TABLE 1

Photographs of patients in AIDS clinic and of gays or lesbians, in percent

	Strongly Agree	Agree Somewhat	Disagree Somewhat	Strongly Disagree
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic.	6.7%	9.3%	36.2%	47.8%
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.	3.6	7.6	37.3	51.6
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing.	5.3	8.9	40.4	45.3
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.	5.7	19.0	36.3	38.9

N = 227; missing data = 3

TABLE 2

Inappropriateness of three increasingly intimate photographs and Editor's newspaper circulation, in percent

		Under 50,000	50,000-199,999	200,000 & Above	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.					
		(N = 83)	(N = 73)	(N = 69)	
	Agree	19.3%	8.2%	4.3%	25
	Disagree	80.7	91.8	95.7	200
Chi Square = 9.42, d.f. = 2, p < .009, Cramer's V = .20459					
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing.					
		(N = 84)	(N = 72)	(N = 69)	
	Agree	22.6	12.5	5.8	32
	Disagree	77.4	87.5	94.2	193
Chi Square = 9.04, d.f. = 2, p < .02, Cramer's V = .20049					
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.					
		(N = 84)	(N = 73)	(N = 69)	
	Agree	29.8	30.1	13.0	56
	Disagree	70.2	69.9	87.0	170
Chi Square = 7.34, d.f. = 2, p < .03, Cramer's V = .18024					

TABLE 3

Inappropriateness of three increasingly intimate photographs and Editorial position editors hold, in percent

	Managing Editor	City/Metro Editor	News Editor	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.				
	(N = 69)	(N = 95)	(N = 30)	
Agree	18.8%	6.3%	16.7%	24
Disagree	81.2	93.7	83.3	170
Chi Square = 6.39, d.f. = 2, $p < .05$, Cramer's V = .18146				
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing.				
	(N = 69)	(N = 95)	(N = 30)	
Agree	24.6	8.4	16.7	30
Disagree	75.4	91.6	83.3	164
Chi Square = 8.08, d.f. = 2, $p < .02$, Cramer's V = .20408				
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.				
	(N = 70)	(N = 95)	(N = 30)	
Agree	34.3	16.8	20.0	46
Disagree	65.7	83.2	80.0	149
Chi Square = 7.06, d.f. = 2, $p < .03$, Cramer's V = .19024				

TABLE 4

Inappropriateness of three increasingly intimate photographs and Years of education past high school, in percent

	Four Years & Less	Five Years & More	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.	(N = 153)	(N = 72)	
Agree	14.4%	4.2%	25
Disagree	85.6	95.8	200
Chi Square = 5.17, d.f. = 1, p < .03, Phi = .15158			
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing.	(N = 153)	(N = 72)	
Agree	18.3	5.6	32
Disagree	81.7	94.4	193
Chi Square = 6.52, d.f. = 1, p < .02, Phi = .17022			
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.	(N = 154)	(N = 72)	
Agree	31.8	9.7	56
Disagree	68.2	90.3	170
Chi Square = 12.85, d.f. = 1, p < .0003, Phi = .23846			

TABLE 5

Inappropriateness of three increasingly intimate photograpns and Society's homophobia harms, in percent

		Agree Homophobia harms	Disagree Homophobia Harms	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.		(N = 107)	(N = 114)	
	Agree	15.9%	6.1%	24
	Disagree	84.1	93.9	197
Chi Square = 5.42, d.f. = 1, p < .02, Phi = .15657				
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing.		(N =108)	(N = 113)	
	Agree	20.4	8.0	31
	Disagree	79.6	92.0	190
Chi Square = 7.05, d.f. = 1, p < .008, Phi = .17857				
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.		(N = 108)	(N = 114)	
	Agree	33.3	16.7	55
	Disagree	66.7	83.3	167
Chi Square = 8.27, d.f. = 1, p < .004, Phi = .19296				

TABLE 6

Inappropriateness of photograph of gays or lesbians kissing and Identifying gay/lesbian figures, in percent

		Agree Creates Role Models	Disagree Creates Role Models	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.				
		(N = 147)	(N = 65)	
	Agree	20.4%	33.8	52
	Disagree	79.6	66.2	160

Chi Square = 4.40, d.f. = 1, p < .04,
Phi = .14401

TABLE 7

Inappropriateness of three increasingly intimate photographs and Overall play of gay/lesbian stories, in percent

		Good	Poor	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.				
		(N = 107)	(N = 113)	
	Agree	2.8%	19.5%	25
	Disagree	97.2	80.5	195
Chi Square = 15.15, d.f. = 1, p < .0001, Phi = .26246				
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing.				
		(N = 107)	(N = 114)	
	Agree	4.7	22.8	31
	Disagree	95.3	77.2	190
Chi Square = 15.05, d.f. = 1, p < .0001, Phi = .26097				
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.				
		(N = 107)	(N= 114)	
	Agree	12.1	36.0	55
	Disagree	87.9	64.0	167
Chi Square = 16.95, d.f. = 1, p < .0001, Phi = .27698				

TABLE 8

Inappropriateness of three increasingly intimate photographs and Overall reporting on gays & lesbian, in percent

	Good	Poor	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.			
	(N = 90)	(N = 133)	
Agree	3.3%	16.5%	25
Disagree	96.7	83.5	198
Chi Square = 9.41, d.f. = 1, p < .003, Phi = .20539			
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing.			
	(N = 89)	(N = 134)	
Agree	4.5	20.9	32
Disagree	95.5	79.1	191
Chi Square = 11.70, d.f. = 1, p < .001, Phi = .22910			
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.			
	(N = 90)	(N = 134)	
Agree	12.2	33.6	56
Disagree	87.8	66.4	168
Chi Square = 13.10, d.f. = 1, p < .0003, Phi = .24184			

TABLE 9

Inappropriateness of AIDS clinic, hand holding and kissing photographs and Coverage of AIDS, in percent

	Good	Poor	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic.			
	(N = 157)	(N = 64)	
Agree	11.5%	26.6%	35
Disagree	88.5	73.4	186
Chi Square = 7.78, d.f. = 1, p <.0053, Phi = 18757			
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.			
	(N = 158)	(N = 64)	
Agree	7.6	20.3	25
Disagree	92.4	79.7	197
Chi Square = 7.37, d.f. = 1, p < .007, Phi = .18223			
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.			
	(N = 158)	(N = 65)	
Agree	20.9	33.8	55
Disagree	79.1	66.2	168
Chi Square = 4.16, d.f. = 1, p < .05, Phi = .13663			

TABLE 10

Inappropriateness of three increasingly intimate photographs and Reporting imaginative, in percent

		Agree Imaginative	Disagree Imaginative	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands.				
		(N = 49)	(N = 103)	
	Agree	2.0%	15.5%	17
	Disagree	98.0	84.5	135
Chi Square = 6.09, d.f. = 1, p < .02, Phi = .20010				
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians embracing.				
		(N = 49)	(N = 103)	
	Agree	6.1	19.4	23
	Disagree	93.9	80.6	129
Chi Square = 4.57, d.f. = 1, p < .04, Phi = .17340				
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.				
		(N = 49)	(N = 104)	
	Agree	12.2	33.7	41
	Disagree	87.8	66.3	112
Chi Square = 7.78, d.f. = 1, p < .006, Phi = .22553				

TABLE 11

Inappropriateness of kissing photographs and Reporting aggressive, in percent

		Agree Aggressive	Disagree Aggressive	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.				
		(N = 33)	(N = 112)	
	Agree	9.1	32.1	39
	Disagree	90.9	67.9	106

Chi Square = 6.89, d.f. = 1, p < .009,
Phi = .21797

TABLE 12

Inappropriateness of kissing photographs and Reporting authoritative, in percent

		Agree Authoritative	Disagree Authoritative	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of gays or lesbians kissing.				
		(N = 74)	(N = 66)	
	Agree	14.9	31.8	32
	Disagree	85.1	68.2	108

Chi Square = 5.69, d.f. = 1, p < .02,
Phi = .20154

TABLE 13

Inappropriateness of AIDS clinic, hand holding and Reporting biased, in percent

		Agree Biased	Disagree Biased	Row Total
It would not be appropriate for my newspaper to publish photographs of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic.		(N = 74)	(N = 66)	
	Agree	41.7%	12.6%	29
	Disagree	58.3	87.4	173

Chi Square = 7.74, d.f. = 1, p <.006,
Phi = 19574

Notes

[1] This study was supported with funding from the Bush Research Center, E. W. Scripps School of Journalism, Ohio University, Guido H. Stempel III, director.

[2] *Newspaper Research Journal* recently devoted a special issue to studies of interest to minorities and women. See *Newspaper Research Journal*, 11 (3) (Summer 1990).

[3] Loren Ghiglione, et al., *Alternatives: Gays & Lesbians in the Newsroom* (Washington, D. C.: American Society of Newspaper Editors, 1990). See also Ted Pease's condensation of Leroy F. Aarons' report on this study, "Survey Brings a Minority into Focus for First Time," *Newspaper Research Journal*, 11 (3):38-49 (Summer 1990).

[4] Joseph Bernt and Marilyn Greenwald, "Daily Newspaper Coverage of the Gay and Lesbian Community: Perceptual Differences of Senior Editors and Their Gay and Lesbian Staffers," Paper presented to the Newspaper Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, 7-11 August 1990, found daily newspaper editors hold much more positive views of their papers' coverage of gays and lesbians than do gay and lesbian journalists. Differences result not from distaste for but from a lack of knowledge of the lesbian and gay community and a tendency to confuse coverage of the AIDS epidemic and coverage of lesbians and gays. A revised version of this study is forthcoming in *Newspaper Research Journal*.

[5] For extended discussion of coverage of the epidemic see Randy Shilts, *And the Band Played On: Politics People and the AIDS Epidemic* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987); James Kinsella, *Covering the Plague* (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1989) and "Covering the Plague Years: Four Approaches to the AIDS Beat" in *The Aids Epidemic: Private Rights and the Public Interest*, ed. Padraig O'Malley (Boston: Beacon, 1989), pp. 465-483; Simon Watney, *Policing Desire: Pornography, AIDS and the Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987, pp. 77-97; Edward Albert, "Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome: The Victim and the Press," in *News and Knowledge*, ed. Thelma McCormack, Studies in Communication: A Research Annual, vol. 3 (London and Greenwich, Conn. and London: JAI Press, 1986), pp. 135-158; Dennis Altman, *AIDS in the Mind of America* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1986), pp. 16-22; and Sandra Panem, *The AIDS Bureaucracy* (Cambridge, Mass. and London: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 118-136. Everett M. Rogers, James W. Dearing, and Soonbum Chang, using an agenda-setting model, describe the gradual evolution of media attention to AIDS in "AIDS in the 1980s: The Agenda-Setting Process for a Public Issue," in *Journalism Monographs*, no. 126 (April 1991).

[6] Timothy Cook, "Setting the Record Straight: The Construction of Homosexuality on Television News," Paper presented to the Lesbian and Gay Studies Center at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., October 1989.

[7] Larry Gross, "Out of the Mainstream: Sexual Minorities and the Mass Media," in *Gay People, Sex, and the Media*, ed. Michelle A. Wolf and Alfred P. Kielwasser (New York and London: Harrington Park Press, 1991), pp. 19-46. Also see Steven A. Simm, "Gay Images on Television," in *Gay Speak: Gay Male and Lesbian Communication*, ed. James W. Chesebro (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1981), pp. 153-161. He found, in researching the effects of stereotypes of gays on mainstream viewers, that gays and heterosexuals with gay social contacts can recognize when television images of gays are actually stereotypes but that heterosexuals without gay social contacts cannot and so maintain a distorted perception of the real world.

[8] Joseph Bernt and Marilyn Greenwald, "Privacy and the AIDS Crisis: Newspaper Practices Regarding Obituaries and Outings," Paper presented to the Mass Communications and Society Division of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Boston, 7-11 August 1992, found senior daily newspaper editors uncomfortably willing to report sexual orientation of high public officials and more willing to follow family wishes rather than a longtime lover's in deciding the content of nonpaid obituaries.

[9] Daniel M. Fox and Diane R. Karp, "Images of Plague: Infectious Disease in the Visual Arts," in AIDS: The Burdens of History, ed. Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 172-189, and Sander L. Gilman, "AIDS and Syphilis: The Iconography of Disease," in AIDS: Cultural Analysis Cultural Activism, ed. Douglas Crimp (Cambridge, Mass. and London: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 87-107, trace the iconographic similarities in the depiction of disease from the black death through the AIDS epidemic.

[10] Richard D. Mohr, Gay/Justice: A Study of Ethics, Society, and Law (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 176, argues that even shocking images of gays and lesbians meant to titillate or arouse the reader benefits lesbians and gays because each instance reduces the surprise and revulsion homophobes experience when they encounter the original on the streets.

[11] Alfred C. Kinsey, et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Male (Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Company, 1948), pp. 650-651, and Alfred C. Kinsey, et al., Sexual Behavior in the Human Female (Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Company, 1953), pp. 452-458, are the commonly used sources for these statistics. Kinsey and his associates found a broad range of activity among males and females following adolescence. This ranged from 37 percent of the total male population having "at least some overt homosexual experience," to 10 percent of males being "more or less exclusively homosexual," to 4 percent of the white males being "exclusively homosexual throughout their lives." By the time females reached 45 years of age about 28 percent "had recognized erotic responses to other females" and 19 percent "had had some physical contact with other females which was deliberately and consciously, at least on the part of one of the partners, intended to be sexual."

[12] These statistics derive from Overlooked Opinions, Inc., a Chicago-based market research company, and appeared in The New York Times, March 2, 1992, sec. C, p. 9.

[13] Although not significant at the .05 level, crosstabulations of responses to the photographs and years of newspaper experience indicated mid-career editors with 11 to 20 years of experience are more tolerant of publishing photographs of gays or lesbians embracing (Chi Square = 4.43, d.f. = 2, $p < .11$) or kissing (Chi Square = 4.32, d.f. = 2, $p < .12$) than either editors with 10 or fewer years or editors with 21 or more years of experience. Samuel P. Winch, "On Naming Rape Victims: How Editors Stand on the Issue," Paper presented to the Commission on the Status of Women at the AEJMC Annual Convention, 6-10 August 1991, found a similar divergence from younger and older editors, among editors in this age group in terms of their satisfaction with their papers' policies on naming rape victims. He speculates their attitudes may have been influenced by the social and political issues of the 1960s and 1970s.

[14] Although not significant at the .05 level, this same pattern held for responses to publishing photographs of bed-ridden patients in an AIDS clinic (Chi Square = 3.60, d.f. = 2, $p < .17$).

[15] Although not quite significant at the .05 level, the same pattern emerged from responses to photographs of patients in an AIDS clinic (Chi-Square = 3.37, d.f. = 1, $p < .07$).

[16] Although not significant at the .05 level, this same pattern emerged from crosstabulations with responses of editors to photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands (Chi Square = 3.12, d.f. = 1, $p < .08$) and of gays or lesbians embracing (Chi Square = 3.34, d.f. = 1, $p < .07$).

[17] Although not significant at the .05 level, crosstabulations of responses to evaluating coverage of gay civil rights and photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands (Chi Square = 2.75, d.f. = 1, $p < .10$), and of responses to evaluating coverage of gay lifestyles and photographs of gays or lesbians kissing (Chi Square = 3.27, d.f. = 1, $p < .08$) resulted in the same association of positive ratings and tolerance for publishing the photographs.

[18] Although not significant at the .05 level, crosstabulation for coverage of AIDS and photographs of gays or lesbians embracing (Chi Square = 2.32, d.f. = 1, $p < .13$) showed a similar pattern of responses.

[19] A similar pattern, although not significant at the .05 level, resulted with editors' responses to photographs of patients in an AIDS clinic (Chi Square = 3.53, d.f. = 1, $p < .07$).

[20] Although not significant at the .05 level, a similar pattern emerged from editors responses to photographs of gays or lesbians holding hands (Chi Square = 3.80, d.f. = 1, $p < .06$) and embracing (Chi Square = 2.50, d.f. = 1, $p < .12$).

[21] There is good reason for editors to hesitate about printing photographs of patients in an AIDS clinic. Medical care is one of the few areas where the courts have been particularly supportive of private facts suits against media and other corporations when they involve hospitalization and illness. See Barber v. Time, Inc., 159 S.W.2d 291, 1 Media L. Rep. 1779 (Mo. 1942) and Vassiliades v. Garfinckel's, 492 A.2d 471 (Miss. 1976).

[22] This was Simms' finding about the effectiveness of stereotypes on heterosexuals who socialize with gays, p. 161.

[23] George Gerbner, et al., "Charting the Mainstream: Television's Contributions to Political Orientations," Journal of Communication, 32 (2), Spring 1982, pp. 100-127.

OUTSIDE THE FRAME: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE SUGAR RAY LEONARD WIFE ABUSE STORY

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OUTSIDE THE FRAME: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE SUGAR RAY LEONARD WIFE ABUSE STORY

Abstract

This paper analyzes the print media's ideological "framing" of the 1991 story of boxer Sugar Ray Leonard's admission of having physically abused his wife and abused cocaine and alcohol. We examined all news stories and editorials on the Leonard story in two major daily newspapers and one national sports daily. We found that all three papers framed the story as a "drug story," while ignoring or marginalizing the "wife abuse" story. We argue that sports writers utilized an already-existing ideological "jocks on drugs" news frame that presented this story as a moral drama of individual sin and public redemption--a script that resonates with the individualistic ideology underlying the "just say no" to drugs campaigns of the 1980's. Through an analysis of the ways the "wife abuse" story was ignored or marginalized, we argue that sports reporters, nearly all of whom are men, are apparently steeped in patriarchal ideology concerning the causes of wife abuse. Finally, we discuss whether or not the existence of more women in sports writing might alter the ways that such stories are framed.

OUTSIDE THE FRAME: NEWSPAPER COVERAGE OF THE SUGAR RAY LEONARD WIFE ABUSE STORY[1]

Introduction

On March 30, 1991, the Los Angeles Times broke a story, based on divorce court documents, that Sugar Ray Leonard had admitted to physically abusing his wife, including hitting her with his fists, and to using cocaine and alcohol over a three-year period while temporarily retired from boxing. Despite the fact that stories of sexual violence, drug abuse, and other criminal activities by famous athletes have become common items in the sports pages, these particular revelations were shocking to many people because Leonard had been an outspoken public advocate for "just say no to drugs" campaigns, and he publicly had traded on his image of a good family man. Thus, revelations of his family violence and drug abuse left him potentially open to charges of hypocrisy, to public humiliation, and to permanent loss of his hero status.

This paper explores how this story was framed by three major newspapers. We will argue that despite the fact that the "wife abuse" part of the story was potentially every bit as important as the "drug abuse" part of the story, all three newspapers rapidly framed the Sugar Ray Leonard story as a "drug story" and ignored or marginalized the "wife abuse" part of the story. This, we will suggest, is a result of two factors. First, by the late 1980's, sports media had developed a pre-packaged news frame that presented "jocks on drugs" stories as scripted moral dramas of sin and redemption. This news frame offered reporters and commentators a ready-made formula for packaging, presenting and analyzing the social and moral meanings of the Sugar Ray Leonard story. Second, there is no such familiar formula for reporting and analyzing wife abuse by a famous athlete. In fact, despite the fact that "domestic violence" has been re-defined by the women's movement as a public issue, it is still a stubbornly persistent aspect of patriarchal ideology to view wife abuse as a "private matter" (Kurz, 1989).

News Frames and Patriarchal Ideology

For public issues, the social construction of a problem occurs in good part through the mass news media. In reporting an occurrence, they also define it and explain how it is to be understood through the use of a "frame," a context for viewing the story (Gitlin, 1979; Goffman, 1974). A news frame is how the media assign meaning to an event or occurrence, including whether or not something is reported, what is highlighted, emphasized, ignored or marginalized. A news frame is therefore an inherently ideological construct, but it rarely appears so. This is because although news frames ultimately impose preferred meanings on a public story, these meanings are commonly drawn from socially-shared (hegemonic) understandings of the world (Gitlin, 1979).

The news framing process itself is often a contested terrain, wherein different groups may have "differing and sometimes competing uses for the same occurrence" (Molotch & Lester, 1974: 103). News coverage of an occurrence, then, reflects in part the ability of various social or political interests to influence the news framing process so that it is compatible with their beliefs and values. For instance, since the U.S. corporate sector and the federal government are closely linked, economically and ideologically, to the mainstream U.S. media (Bagdikian, 1990; Dreier, 1982), they are at a powerful advantage, relative to other collectivities or individuals, in influencing this process. This corporate/governmental advantage in shaping news frames is illustrated in analyses of news coverage of "accidents" at nuclear power plants (Mazur, 1984) and the U.S.-sponsored war in El Salvador (Solomon, 1992). Rather than a "mirror of reality," then, the national news agenda may be seen as a construct of a highly centralized apparatus embedded in the political and economic structure.

The framing of sports stories is less likely to be directly linked to the daily concerns of political and economic elites. But this is not to say that sports reporting is not steeped in dominant values and ideologies (John Hargreaves, 1986). In fact, a number of scholars have argued that sports media tend to reflect--and help to reconstruct--patriarchal ideologies (Bryson, 1987; Clarke & Clarke, 1982; Jennifer Hargreaves, 1986; Messner, 1988; Willis, 1982). Feminist scholars have illuminated the asymmetrical and masculine-biased ways that electronic and print media cover women's and men's sports and female and male athletes (Boutilier & San Giovanni 1983; Duncan 1990; Duncan & Hasbrook,1988; Duncan & Sayaovong, 1990; Messner, Duncan & Jensen, 1992; Rintala & Birrell, 1984; Sabo & Jansen, 1992).

Although studies of newspaper coverage of sports have consistently demonstrated the paucity of coverage of women's sports (Bryant, 1980; Duncan, Messner & Williams, 1991), there has been very little analysis of the ways that patriarchal ideologies inform the framing of particular stories on the sports pages. One notable exception is Theberge's (1989) analysis of media coverage of a violent brawl in the 1987 World Junior Hockey Championships. Theberge observes that in the immediate aftermath of the incident, there were "competing interpretations" of the causes and meanings of the brawl. In the public debates that followed, feminists argued that the incident was "an instance of a systemic malaise in the sport" that illustrated, in part, "the centrality of violence to the construction of masculine hegemony" (Theberge, 1989: 253-4). But ultimately, this feminist interpretation of the violent event was marginalized in the popular press, and the media's "primary interpretation" (or frame) for the event, drawn mostly from statements by leaders and experts within the sport of hockey, was that the fight was the unfortunate result of a "technical and individual failing" (Theberge, 1989: 253). The sport itself, the hegemonic masculine (and corporate) values underlying it, and the "natural" equation of masculinity with violence, thus remained unchallenged.

Theberge demonstrates how an analysis of media coverage of a "deviant event" (an event that demands that sports writers step outside the conventions of everyday "reporting" and engage themselves in discussion and debate about the social meanings of events) can lay bare the ideological mechanisms that underlie everyday reporting. Theberge makes two important claims that form the theoretical basis of our examination of the Sugar Ray Leonard story. First, patriarchal ideology appears to be a key mechanism in the process of framing sports news. Second, feminism has created a context through which alternative interpretations of news stories have begun to contend with taken-for-granted patriarchal frames. What is the state of play of these two contending ideologies for framing the meaning of contemporary U.S. sports stories? An analysis of the coverage of a story of wife abuse by a popular athlete, we reasoned, might shed light on this question.

Description of Research

We chose to analyze coverage of the Sugar Ray Leonard story in two national dailies, The Los Angeles Times (LAT) which broke the story, and The New York Times (NYT), as well as in the now-defunct specialized paper The National Sports Daily (NSD). We collected all news stories and editorial columns in the three papers until the story "died out" as a major news item (See Appendix for a complete list of news stories and editorial columns). This took nine days, From March 30, 1991 until April 7, 1991.[2] Next, we analyzed the content of the stories. Our overriding concern was to examine how the story was framed as a "drug story" and/or a "domestic violence" story. Was there a coherent, shared frame in all three papers? What kinds of headlines and subheads were used to introduce the story? What was the content of the photos and their captions? How much space in each story was devoted to discussion of drugs, and how much was devoted to discussion of domestic violence? To what extent were "experts" drawn upon by reporters and commentators in analyzing the "drug" or "domestic violence" issues as "social problems?" How was the dominant news frame developed, interpreted, solidified or contested by sports columnists in the days following the breaking of the story?

Framing the Story

Our analysis of the three newspapers revealed three stages in the development of the news frame. Stage One was day one, when LAT broke the story. Stage Two was days two and three, when all three papers covered Sugar Ray Leonard's press conference and "reactions" inside and outside of the boxing world. Stage Three was days three through nine, when follow-up stories and editorial commentary discussed the "meanings" of the story.

Stage 1: The Breaking Story

The LAT broke the story, and featured it as the top sports story of the day. The headline read, "Leonard Used Cocaine, His Former Wife Testifies," while the subhead stated that "...Sugar Ray confirms he abused her physically, acknowledges drug and alcohol abuse." The accompanying photo, of the couple smiling and about to kiss each other, was captioned, "Juanita and Sugar Ray Leonard, pictured before their divorce, testified about marital violence and substance abuse." Although the wife abuse issue clearly was a central part of the story, the headlines and the paragraphs that followed revealed a subtle asymmetry in the coverage of the "drug" angle and the "violence" angle. The opening paragraph stated that although Leonard "appeared in nationally televised anti-drugs public service announcements in 1989 [he] has used cocaine himself..." When Leonard's violence toward his wife was introduced in the third paragraph of the story, we read that Leonard confirmed that "he abused her physically *because of* alcohol and drug abuse" (our emphasis). This was a key moment in the initial framing of the story: Leonard admits to abusing drugs and alcohol, which in turn caused him to abuse his wife.

Now tentatively framed as a "drug abuse" story, the article cut to several paragraphs of sometimes graphic testimony from Maryland divorce court records. In these statements, Juanita Leonard said that over a two-year period, Sugar Ray Leonard often struck her with his fists, would "throw me around," and "harass me physically and mentally in front of the children." He had a gun and threatened to kill himself; he threw lamps and broke mirrors. He once scared her so much that she attempted to leave the house with the children: "I was holding my six-month-old child and [Leonard] spit in my face. He pushed me. He shoved me. ...I was on my way out the door. He wouldn't let me out. He took a can of kerosene and poured it on the front foyer floor in our house. He told me he was going to burn the house down...that he wasn't going to let me leave the house or anything." Sugar Ray Leonard, in his testimony, did not deny any of this. He agreed that he sometimes struck her with his fists, threatened and abused her.

Basic to the initial framing of this breaking story is the way in which the question of why Leonard abused his wife is answered. Juanita Leonard stated that she believed that Leonard's physical abuse of her was caused by his use of alcohol and cocaine. Sugar Ray Leonard also stated that the only times he hit her were when he had been drinking. But when he was asked directly if the "problems between you and your wife" were caused by "the fact that you drank or used drugs," he flatly stated, "No. There was a period in my life when my career had ended temporarily and I was going through a state of limbo, and I wasn't particularly happy with my marital situation." This is a strand of the testimony that apparently was ignored by the reporter who wrote the breaking story. Wife abuse was presented as a secondary issue, caused by the drug and alcohol abuse. Despite this initial "drug story" frame, the graphic, emotionally-gripping testimony about domestic violence left open the possibility that this could have developed into a story about wife abuse. As the story broke, then, the "drug story" frame was still very fluid, still very much in the making, and potentially open to contest.

Stage 2: Public Issues and Private Matters

On days two and three, the "drug story" news frame was solidified, and the "wife abuse story" was rapidly marginalized. On day two, the LAT and NYT ran major articles covering the press conference that Sugar Ray Leonard held to discuss the revelations about his drug abuse and family violence. On day three, the NSD ran a story covering the news conference. The headlines of these stories stated "Leonard Says He Used Cocaine After Injury" (LAT), "Leonard Tells of Drug Use" (NYT), and "Sugar Ray Tells Bitter Tale of Cocaine Abuse" (NSD). None of the headlines, subheads, or lead paragraphs mentioned wife abuse. The photos that ran with the articles showed a somber Leonard apparently wiping a tear from his cheek as he spoke at the press conference. None of the photo captions mentioned wife abuse.

The first seven paragraphs of the LAT story detailed Leonard's explanations for how and why he began to abuse drugs and alcohol after his eye injury and retirement, and chronicled his statements that his drug use was "wrong...childish...[and] stupid." The story also highlighted the fact that "...as a role model, he advised that cocaine use is 'not the right road to take,' adding, 'it doesn't work. I'll be the first to admit it. I hope they look at my mistake--and don't use it.'" Finally, in the eighth paragraph, the writer noted that Leonard "declined" to discuss "the physical abuse or suicide threats alleged by his former wife, Juanita, last summer during questioning under oath before the couple reached a multimillion-dollar divorce settlement." The story did not mention Leonard's corroboration, under oath, of his wife's "allegations" of abuse. Instead, it quoted Leonard's statement at the press conference that he would "be lying" if he were to say that he and his wife never "fought, argued, or grabbed each other," but that "that was in our house, between us. Unfortunately, during the proceedings, which are very emotional and very painful, certain things are taken out of context or exaggerated." At that point, the violence issue was dropped from the story for good. For the next eight paragraphs, the story returned to explanations of Leonard's drug abuse. The final six paragraphs chronicled his statements of remorse for his drug abuse ("I stand here ashamed, hurt"), . and his statements that his drug abuse is now a thing of the past ("I grew up").

The NYT essentially followed suit in framing this as a "drug story" and almost entirely ignored the wife abuse angle. In the fourth paragraph, the story asserted that "his former wife, Juanita, [said that] Leonard used cocaine on occasion and physically abused her while under the influence of alcohol." The story noted that "Leonard admitted to substance abuse," but it did not mention his admission of wife abuse. After nine more paragraphs that discussed the possible reasons for Leonard's drug abuse, the wife abuse issue was briefly touched upon again, and the "I'd be lying...taken out of context, exaggerated" quote closed the issue. Significantly, the NYT did not mention (as did the LAT) Leonard's refusal at the press conference to answer questions about the violence issue and his assertion that his physical abuse of his wife is a private matter, "that was in our house, between us." The story closed just as the LAT story did, with Leonard's message to fans and youths not to take drugs and his assurances that "Thank God I'm matured and became productive again and I'm happy again."

The NSD story on the press conference went even farther than the LAT and NYT in framing the story almost exclusively as a "drug story." The first eight paragraphs discussed his admission of drug and alcohol abuse, and noted that once he came out of his retirement and boxed again, his drug abuse ended. "I was again doing what I loved best--fighting," Leonard stated in the story, "I became a better father and person without the use of a substitute." The only mention of wife abuse was in the ninth paragraph: "He also physically abused his wife, Juanita, according to sealed divorce documents." Immediately following this sentence, the story cut to: "Leonard said he did not go to a treatment center to stop." This is a jarring transition. But it is a testament to the extent to which this story had become almost entirely a "drug story" that the writer did not see a need to explain, after mentioning wife abuse, that he was not referring to a "treatment center" for stopping wife abuse, but rather, for stopping drug use. Wife abuse was outside the frame.

Stage 3: Redemption

For the next week, all three papers ran follow-ups and editorial commentaries on the Sugar Ray Leonard story. The dominant theme of nearly all of these stories was that Leonard's redemption from his drug abuse could now be viewed as simply another stage in a heroic career. On April 1, the NSD ran a column headline, "This is the Truth about Sugar Ray: He's Not Perfect, but, then, Who is?" The column celebrated the "love affair" that the people of the United States had had with Leonard: "In Montreal, he fought for us...We applauded [his] courage and we were intoxicated with inspiration...We loved Leonard. We truly did." The column went on to describe the "shock" we all felt at the revelations of Leonard's cocaine use. But the entire tone of the column was of Leonard's redemption and our "compassion" for him. When we make heroes of athletes, the writer argued, we set them up to "fall down." Nowhere in the column was there mention of wife abuse.

The next day, the LAT ran a column by the reporter who originally broke the story, headlined "Act of Courage Didn't Involve a Single Punch." In the column, the writer admiringly recalled Leonard's many "acts of courage" in the ring, and argued that Leonard showed this courage again at his press conference, "under the most difficult of circumstances, when he admitted he had used cocaine." In an almost breathless tone, he continually evoked images of Leonard's "courage" (nine times), his "bravery" (three times), and his "intelligence." Wife abuse was never mentioned in the column. Leonard was more than redeemed in the eyes of this writer. In fact, this "difficult" incident appears to have further elevated Leonard's status: "The man and his courage. It was a class act." The same day, the NYT ran a similar story, "Leonard hears words of support," in which wife abuse was mentioned only in passing. The first paragraph expressed the focus of the article: "The reaction of the boxing world to Sugar Ray Leonard's acknowledgement that he used cocaine and drank heavily in the early 1980's has been mostly sympathetic."

The dominant news frame clearly had solidified: "Wife abuse" was either completely ignored or marginalized as outside the "drug story" frame, in all three newspapers. But the dominant "drug story" frame did not go entirely unchallenged. Three editorial sports writers gave potentially (and partially) oppositional readings to the Sugar Ray Leonard story. An April 4 NYT article, headlined "The Danger of 'Arena' Addiction" did not mention wife abuse, but it did draw a connection between the trauma of retirement from sport and the abuse of alcohol and cocaine by athletes. And in an April 3 NSD column headlined "Sugar's confession can't blot bitter taste," Leonard's press conference was portrayed as a cynical attempt to manipulate public opinion. The writer noted that Leonard "shoved his wife around," but the major thrust of the column was to criticize the ways that the media and the public so easily "forgive our fallen heroes." Leonard's press conference, and its aftermath, the writer argued, can be viewed as a sort of "20th century confessional, the sinner spilling the beans into live microphones. He practices damage control and hopes we see it as contrition. He speaks in a halting voice and weeps on camera. The public relations consultants get big bucks for this advice. Tell all. Throw yourself at the public's feet. People are kind. They'll forgive."

By far the most critical editorial column in our sample appeared on April 7 in the LAT (reprinted from the Washington Post), headlined "Leonard Roped in: It's all in the game." And, as we will argue below, it is probably not an accident that this was the only article or column in our sample written by a woman. Like the April 3 NYT article, this writer was critical of the "staging" of Leonard's press conference. But this was the only article or editorial in our sample that even began to draw connections (albeit even in this case, carefully tentative connections) between Leonard's participation in the sport of boxing and his acts of wife abuse: "A common experience among boxing champions has been, like Leonard's, wife trouble. Their history is full of it. It grabbed Sugar Ray Robinson, Jack Dempsey, Joe Louis, Sonny Liston, and even the family man, Rocky Marciano. The multi-wived Muhammed Ali begged the courts that the alimony payments were too great.

And Mike Tyson is of course famous for slugging his wife and others, for his vulgar talk..." But, the writer concluded, the boxing world and the sports media have failed to view Leonard's case as another in a pattern of similar occurrences. As a result, the overall impact of Leonard's "fall from grace" amounts to "nothing whatsoever, not even a ripple."

Within the Frame: Sin and Redemption

Stuck (1988: i) notes that in recent years, public interest in "drugs in sports" stories "seems to rise when yet another 'big name' athlete, collegiate or professional, had died of an overdose of some illicit drug or has been sent to a rehabilitation facility, then seems to subside after the media has had its fill of the story." On the other hand, Donohew, Helm, and Haas (1989) observed that following the drug deaths of celebrated athletes Len Bias and Don Rogers, attention to "drugs in sports" stories actually declined in newspapers. The authors speculated that the reason for this decline is that by the end of the 1980's, "the newsworthiness of drug use...had run its course... It was no longer news because drug use in the athletic community had come to be viewed as more commonplace." By then, for instance, "revelations that the New York Giants' Lawrence Taylor had undergone treatment at a drug rehabilitation center perhaps no longer seemed as important" (Donohew, Helm & Haas, 1989: 236).

We would add that by the end of the 1980's, not only was the "drugs in sports" story no longer big news, but in addition, the sports media had constructed an ideological news frame for "jock on drugs" stories that presented "the facts" as well as "the meanings" of these stories as moral dramas of individual sin and redemption. The "jock on drugs" drama became a familiar set of scripted stages: (1) revelations of sin and subsequent public humiliation; (2) shameful confession and promises to never take drugs again; (3) public evangelism to children to "say no" to drugs; and (4) public redemption.

This script resonates with the ideology underlying the Reagan administration's "just say no" to drugs campaigns of the 1980's. These campaigns were largely successful in ideologically framing drug problems (and their solutions) as issues of individual moral choice, not as social problems resulting from growing poverty, deterioration of cities and schools, or general alienation and malaise. Sports reporters appear to have accepted uncritically this individual framework of meaning and adapted it to frame the otherwise thorny social issue of "jocks on drugs." Moreover, athletes quickly learned to act out their own parts in this scripted morality play, as Sugar Ray Leonard's tearful press conference aptly demonstrated. When the script is properly played out, within a year or so following the initial public revelation of drug use, public redemption often is accompanied by reinstatement in sport participation. And, as demonstrated by baseball player Steve Howe and others, some athletes have managed to cycle through this script several times. A bonus to Leonard in the media's largely uncritical reliance on this scripted framework of meaning was the fact that (unlike most "jock on drugs" cases) the public revelation of Leonard's drug and alcohol abuse occurred several years after his "sins" took place. That he could tearfully (and, we are left to assume, honestly) claim that these were indeed "sins" that he committed in the past meant that there could be a blurring simultaneity to the movement through the drama's stages: The day after the public revelations, Leonard himself shamefully confessed, apologized, promised that he had not taken drugs for a long time, and evangelized to youths to "say no" to drugs. Within a few days, playing out their own part in the scripted drama, the sports media granted Leonard full redemption from his sins.

It is important to note, though, that the April 3 NSD and April 4 NYT editorials offered partially oppositional readings of the Sugar Ray Leonard story. Although they did not challenge the drug frame (one didn't even mention wife abuse; the other mentioned it in passing), they did challenge the sports media's complicity in what we are calling the "moral drama of individual sin and redemption." In viewing Leonard's press conference as a cynical manipulation aimed at public redemption, and in discussing athletes' drug and alcohol problems in terms of the social pressures and strains of athletic careers and retirement trauma, these readings at least challenged the narrow individualism of the dominant "drug story" frame. These readings hold the potential for broadening the "drug story" frame to include critiques of commercialized athletic hero worship, including the stress and strain this puts on the "heroes" themselves. On the other hand, these oppositional readings do not challenge the unspoken patriarchal ideology that led to the ignoring or marginalization of the "wife abuse" story.

Outside the Frame

By the third day of the Sugar Ray Leonard story, "wife abuse" was so entirely outside the dominant "drug story" frame that several follow-up stories and editorials did not mention it at all. But the "wife abuse" story did not go away entirely. It continued to appear, albeit always very briefly, in some follow-up stories and commentary. When wife abuse was mentioned, it usually was framed in language similar to the following sentence from a follow-up NYT story: "...his former wife, Juanita, [said] that Leonard used cocaine on occasion and physically mistreated her while under the influence of alcohol." This sentence demonstrates the three ways that the "wife abuse" story was ideologically managed when it did appear within the "drug story" news frame:

1. Violence presented in neutralizing language: The graphic descriptions of Sugar Ray Leonard's violence, threats with guns and kerosene, spitting in his wife's face, hitting her with his fists, etc., that appeared in the original divorce testimony were replaced with more vague and neutral language: Leonard "physically mistreated" his wife.

2. Sugar Ray Leonard's admitted acts of violence presented simply as Juanita Leonard's "claims": Although Leonard clearly had acknowledged in the divorce testimony that he had committed the acts of violence that his wife accused him of, in nearly all of the follow-up stories, these facts were presented as something that Juanita Leonard "said," "claimed," or "alleged" had occurred. The writers did not add that Sugar Ray Leonard himself had acknowledged having committed these acts, thus leaving the impression, perhaps, that these were merely Juanita Leonard's "claims," or "allegations," not "facts."

3. Incorrectly implying a causal relationship between drug and alcohol abuse and wife abuse. Nearly every mention of the wife abuse incidents in the follow-up commentaries implied that drug and alcohol abuse caused Leonard to be violent to his wife. Most often, these articles did not make a direct causal argument ("drugs made him hit her"), but rather, implied the causal relationship by always directly linking any mention of his acts of violent "mistreatment" of his wife with the observation that Leonard had been abusing drugs. Astonishingly, reporters appear to have relied entirely on the "self-reporting" of Sugar Ray and Juanita Leonard to conclude, all too easily and quickly, that the drug and alcohol abuse caused the wife abuse to happen.[3] The writers apparently never consulted experts on domestic violence, who undoubtedly would have made two important points.

First, self-reports of perpetrators of wife abuse, or of the victims of wife abuse as to why wife abuse occurs, are suspect (Dobash, et. al., 1992). Wayne Ewing, who works with and studies men who batter, argues that in relationships where husbands batter wives, there is a common "cycle of violence" that includes "the building of tension and conflict; the episode of battering; the time of remorse; the idyllic time of reconciliation" (Ewing, 1982: 5-6). For the male batterer, a key aspect of the stage of remorse is denial of responsibility for the act of battery. As Ewing puts it, "There is no shock of recognition in the cycle of violence. It is not a matter of 'Oh my god, did I do that?' It is a matter of stating 'Oh my god, I couldn't have done that,' implying that I in fact did not do it... Remorse, in this model of 'making things right' again literally wipes the slate clean" (Ewing, 1982: 6). For the victim who decides (for whatever reason) to remain in a relationship with her batterer, the stage of reconciliation in the cycle of violence often involves at least a partial acceptance of this denial of responsibility: "the man that hit me is not the real man that I love, and who loves me." Within this context of denial, alcohol or other drugs can become convenient scapegoats: "It was the booze talking" (and hitting), not the man.

Second, research on domestic violence indicates that while alcohol abuse and wife abuse are statistically correlated, there is no evidence that alcohol abuse causes wife abuse.

Numerous studies have shown a statistical correlation between (especially "binge"-type) alcohol abuse and wife abuse (Coleman & Straus, 1983; Hotaling & Sugarman, 1986; Kantor & Straus, 1987). But the "drunken bum theory of wife abuse" is largely a myth, as only about one out of four instances of wife abuse involve alcohol (Kantor & Straus, 1987). In fact, in cases where binge drinking and wife abuse occur together, there is considerable evidence that both binge drinking and wife abuse might be a result of what researchers have called a frustrated "power motivation" in husbands (Brown, et. al., 1980; Cahalan, 1970; McClelland et al., 1972). Indeed, Kantor & Straus' research suggests that men who are most likely to commit acts of wife abuse are those men who are most firmly enmeshed in "the cultural tradition which glorifies violence, assumes male dominance, and tolerates violence by men against women" (Kantor & Strauss, 1987: 225). This sounds remarkably like a description of the world of men's sports, in general, and of boxing in particular (Foley, 1990; Gorn, 1986; Kidd, 1987; Messner, 1992; Sabo, 1985; Whitson, 1990).

Similarly, Ewing points to a general culture of male dominance and a "civic advocacy of violence" as the main antecedents of men's violence against women. He argues that "With respect to the psychological makeup of the abusive male, there is considerable consensus that these men evidence low self-esteem, dependency needs, unfamiliarity with their emotions, fear of intimacy, poor communication skills and performance orientation" (Ewing, 1982: 5). This description of the male batterer sounds quite similar to the psychological profile of recently retired male athletes who commonly experience several factors that serve as excellent predictors of both alcohol abuse and wife abuse (Messner, 1992). As Horsefall (1991: 85-86) puts it,

> Both wife battering and alcohol use/abuse may be attempts by men with low self-esteem and gender insecurity to decrease both of these deficits by indulging in 'appropriate' activities available to them... If their gender identification is positional,

> their self-esteem shaky, work or sport are closed to them or work is a frustration in itself, then drinking with the 'boys' may make them feel like 'men'. Behaving in an authoritarian way at home may also provide a similar opportunity. Thus alcohol use/ abuse and violence towards wives may have similar roots and therefore present as a correlation in some studies.

The idea that masculine emotional socialization, toleration of violence, along with plummeting self-esteem brought on by an insecure public status might be at the root of both Leonard's drug and alcohol abuse and his abuse of his wife was apparently never entertained by the sports media. To take this approach, of course, would have entailed questioning the patriarchal values-system that underlies the institution of sport. Moreover, this line of analysis inevitably would invite serious questioning of the role of violence in sports, and the possible links between sports violence with violence in personal life. Young U.S. males do grow up in a society that accepts, even valorizes, violence as a legitimate means of last resort. Sports such as boxing, football, and hockey are surely conveying this pro-violence message to young males (Messner, 1990; Sabo, 1985, Sabo & Panepinto, 1990; Vaz, 1980). And given the misogyny that is built into the dominant culture of men's sports (Curry, 1991; Foley, 1990), the advocacy and celebration of men's athletic violence against each other too often becomes directly translated into (often sexualized) violence against women (Kaufman, 1987; Koss & Dinero, 1988; Messner, 1992; Sabo, 1986; Warshaw,1988).

Conclusion

In the case of Sugar Ray Leonard, we argue that it would have been analytically fruitful to examine the possible links between two facts: first, here is a man who won fame and fortune by successfully battering other men with his fists; second, once out of the sports limelight, because of what then appeared to be a career-ending injury, he turned to battering his own body with drugs and alcohol, and the body of his wife with his fists. This line of reasoning would draw together what Michael Kaufman (1987) has called "the triad of men's violence": violence against other men, violence against one's self, and violence against women.

That these questions were never acknowledged, much less seriously addressed, is a testament to the extent to which newspapers still form a symbiotic economic "alliance" with organized sports (Koppett, 1981). But it would be wrong to suspect a conscious conspiracy to "cover up" the wife abuse issue. The adoption of the "drug story" frame and the marginalization of the "wife abuse" frame is a logical result of sports reporters' (probably largely unconscious) immersion in, and adherence to, a hegemonic ideology that is based in corporate and patriarchal relations of power. Generally speaking, there is still a widespread social denial of men's violence against women, especially that which occurs in families (Kurz, 1989). In particular, in this case, the marginalization of the wife abuse story is also a reflection of the extent to which newspaper sports departments still are relatively unaffected by feminism. Newspaper sports departments, still overwhelmingly male in their gender composition, have been much slower to admit women than non-sports news departments (Mills, 1988). The Association for Women in Sports Media estimates that approximately 9,650 of the 10,000 U.S. print and broadcast journalists are men (Nelson, 1991). And it is likely that a disproportionate number of the approximately 350 women in sports media are in televised sports, not in newspaper sports departments.

Would adding more women reporters change the way that sports news is reported and analyzed? Kanter has argued that adding one or two "token" women to a previously all-male workplace rarely alters the work culture. But a substantial number of women--say, 35%--can have a "tilting" effect that begins to change the culture of the workplace. We recall, for instance, the powerfully symbolic march of U.S. Congresswomen into the chambers of the 98% male U.S. Senate, demanding that they take seriously the charges of sexual harassment against Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. And we wonder if

Thomas would have been confirmed if the Senate had had enough women members to have a "tilting" effect on their deliberations on such issues as sexual harassment.

Similarly, we wonder how the Sugar Ray Leonard story might have been differently framed if women made up a large proportion of newspaper sports departments. We tend to concur with Theberge and Cronk (1986: 202) that simply changing the sex composition of the sports newsroom would not drastically change the higher value that reporters tend to place on covering men's sports over women's sports, unless women's sports simultaneously become more highly valued and rewarded than they now are. Indeed, it is difficult to imagine a more gender-equal sports newsroom in the absence of a more general feminist revolution in the sports world. On the other hand, there is some evidence that female sports reporters approach their stories from a more "human," less "technical" point of view than male sports reporters (Mills, 1988: 229). It is significant, we think, that the one commentary on the Leonard story that stands out as "critical" (although only vaguely "feminist") was the only article in our sample that was written by a woman reporter. At the moment, we can only imagine what the existence of more than a token number of women might make in transforming--or at least broadening--the narrow, patriarchal news frame currently employed by sports departments.

Appendix: Newspaper Stories and Editorials

E. Gustkey, "Leonard Used Cocaine, His Former Wife Testifies," Los Angeles Times, March 30, 1991, p. C-1. (News Story)

R. J. Ostrow, "Leonard Says He Used Cocaine After Injury," Los Angeles Times, March 31, 1991, p. C-1. (News Story)

"Leonard Tells of Drug Use," New York Times, March 31, 1991, Section 8, P. 3. (News Story)

D. Steele, "Sugar Ray Tells Bitter Tale of Cocaine Use," The National Sports Daily, April 1, 1991, p. 33. (News Story)

T. Egan, "This is the Truth About Sugar Ray: He's Not Perfect But, Then, Who Is? The National Sports Daily, April 1, 1991, p. 47. (Editorial Column)

E. Gustkey, "Act of Courage Didn't Involve a Single Punch," Los Angeles Times, April 2, 1991, p. C-2. (Editorial Column)

P. Berger, "Leonard Hears Words of Support," New York Times, April 2, 1991, Section B, P. 11. (News Story)

D. Kindred, "Sugar's Confession Can't Blot Bitter Taste," The National Sports Daily, April 3, 1991, P. 7. (Editorial Column)

D. Anderson, "The Danger of 'Arena' Addiction," New York Times, April 4, 1991, Section D, P. 21. (Editorial Column)

S. Povich, "Leonard Roped In: It's All in the Game," Los Angeles Times, April 7, 1991, p. C-3. (Editorial Column reprinted from Washington Post.)

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[1] The authors thank Wayne Wilson and the library staff of the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles for assistance in gathering the newspaper articles that form the empirical basis of this paper.

[2] The "Sugar Ray Leonard drug story" continued to be mentioned (secondarily) for several weeks in news stories and columns about other athletes and issues, but not as a story in and of itself.

[3] As noted above, Sugar Ray Leonard himself supplied evidence to the contrary when in his divorce testimony he replied to the question of whether his drug and alcohol abuse caused him to physically abuse his wife: "No. There was a period in my life when my career had ended temporarily and I was going through a state of limbo, and I wasn't particularly happy with my marital situation."

The International Flow of News in Major U. S. Newspapers:
The 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre

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The International Flow of News in Major U. S. Newspapers: The 1989 Tiananmen Square Massacre

Abstract

Adopting the content analysis method, this study examined *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, and *The Los Angeles Times*' coverage of the 1989 Chinese students' pro-democracy demonstrations.

Previous studies on the international flow of news and information have found that the Western media's coverage of the Third World tends to be biased, superficial, stereotypical, and crisis-oriented. Moreover, it has been argued that the Western media's coverage of Third World events is found to be influenced by the West's economic interests.

By randomly sampling a composite week of the four newspapers between April 16 and July 15, 1989, using the article as the unit of analysis, this study tested the following hypotheses:

H1: The newspapers would be more likely to cite pro-student movement sources than pro-Chinese government sources; and

H2: Each of the four U.S. newspapers would devote more space to cover the U.S. economic interest than the economic interest of other areas of the world.

The study found support for the first hypothesis and only limited support for the second. The study suggests that further research focus on the positive side of the Western media's coverage of Third World events.

Introduction

> "China's students forgot that China was a very different country from either the Philippines or South Korea, two countries with close links with the United States, where the media and Congress wield immense influence....I believe it is this contextless television experience that led to the tragedy of Tiananmen on June 4."[1]
>
> Singapore's Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew

Mr. Lee's blaming the Western-style media coverage for the 1989 Tiananmen Square tragedy may be unpopular, but is by no means isolated. As a matter of fact, both before and after the 1989 Tiananmen Square tragedy, the Chinese government resorted to different measures to reduce the effects of the Western media, which it has always regarded as a potentially dangerous force.

On June 1, 1989, the Chinese government announced tough restrictions on foreign reporters working in Beijing, the country's capital. In effect, the restrictions were intended to impose censorship, and to impede the reporters' endeavors to gather and report news.[2] About a month later, the Chinese government accused the Voice of America of lying about an incident in which Chinese troops were reported to have opened fire on the American diplomatic compound in Beijing.[3] Later in the same month, fearing that foreign publications distributed in China were creating new troubles among the country's youth, the Chinese government banned the sale of foreign newspapers and magazines.[4]

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[1] *The New York Times*, Oct. 16, 1990, sec. A, p. 9 col. 1, "Singaporean Cites Siren Song of TV."

[2] *The New York Times*, June 2, 1989. sec. A, p. 8 col. 1. "Beijing Tightens Press Restriction."

[3] *The New York Times*, July 6, 1989, sec. A, p. 8 col. 1, "Attack on U.S. Complex a Lie, China Press Says."

Viewed in a broader framework called a new world information and communication order, neither Mr. Lee's outcry over contextless television coverage nor the Chinese government's fear that the Western media were inciting the country's youth is a new issue. Instead, they are just two more echoes resounding on the forum of international flow of news and information.

The objectives of the study

Considering the fact that the 1989 Chinese students' pro-democracy demonstrations were the largest in the country's history, both in terms of the number of students and citizens involved, and the impact the demonstrations had over the nation's future, and the media coverage the demonstrations had attracted, it presents a perfect vehicle for studying how the Western media cover a specific political event with the potential to start a revolution in a Third World country.

Specifically, this study examined these aspects of the media practice:

. How did reporters handle the issue of source balance in covering this particular event? Did they evenhandedly cite pro-government sources and pro-student movement sources?

. What was the motivation behind the media's extensive coverage of the event? To what extent were U.S. newspapers concerned about the impact the unfolding event would have on the country's economic interests?

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[4] *The New York Times*, July 16, 1989, sec. 1, p. 17 col. 6, "Foreign Publications are Banned in Beijing."

The International Flow of News

In the past two decades, research on the international flow of news has followed two, to use Mowlana's terminology, "inquiry lines": (1) studies dealing with the actual flow and content of news, and (2) studies concerning factors determining the flow of news.[5] An important category of studies classified under the first line is called image and perception studies.

Unlike studies that focus on the quantitative aspect of news content, image and perception studies are concerned with the meaning and the qualitative nature of news flow. To grasp the qualitative nature of the coverage of a specific news event, scholars who adopt this approach examine the image and perception projected in the news content. Their findings include:

. Western news agencies and wire services continue to be the major sources of international news. This is also true of the Third World.

. There is a general lack of Third World coverage, and when such coverage does exist, it tends to be negative in nature. Filtered through the lenses of Western news agencies and wire services, the coverage of the Third World tends to focus on "bad" news - catastrophes, violence, political instability, and military coups, rather than on "developmental" news, "constructive" policies, scientific and technological advances, or educational improvement.

. More often than not, international news is shallow, superficial, and oversimplified. It is shallow and superficial because seldom is a comprehensive story told; it is oversimplified because complex political, economic, and social issues are painted in broad strokes. As a result of that shallow, superficial, and oversimplified coverage, unintended misunderstanding among world peoples becomes inevitable.

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[5] Hamid Mowlana, *International Flow of Information: A Global Report and Analysis* (Paris: Imprimerie Boudin, 1985), pp. 19.

. International news coverage seldom bothers to look into the issues of the concern of the masses. Tradition has made it so that only the elite or the elite's interests are reflected in international news. Those in the news business don't realize that the masses have a part to play, too.

. International news is event-oriented. Partly due to the news business's nature of reporting news, factors that lead to or cause the event are not explored.[6]

A closer look at image and perception studies

Image and perception started out with an attempt to analyze the type of images portrayed in the flow of news and editorial material through newspapers, magazines, and occasionally, in radio and television. Early examples of research in this area mainly concerned how the rest of the world projected the United

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[6] Peter M. Clark and Hamid Mowlana, "Iran's Perception of Western Europe: A Study in National and Foreign Policy Articulation," International Interactions, 4:2, 1978, pp. 99-123; International Association for Mass Communication Research/UNESCO, *The World of the News: The News of the World*, Final Report of the "Foreign Images" study undertaken by IAMCR for UNESCO, London/Paris: UNESCO, 1980; Edward Said, *Covering Islam*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1981; James D. Halloran and Virginia Nightingale, *Young TV Viewers and Their Images of Foreigners: A Summary and Interpretation of a Four Nation Study*, Centre for Mass Communication Research, University of Leicester, Leicester, England, 1983; UNESCO, *Mass Media, The Image, Role and Social Condition of Women*, Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No. 84, Paris, 1479; and C. B. Pratt, "The Reportage and Image of Africa in Six U.S. News and Opinion Magazines: A Comparative Study," *Gazette*, 26:1, 1980, pp. 32-45.

States. [7] Yet before long, the focus shifted to how the Third World was projected by the Western media.

Marking the shift were two studies done by Hester. [8] In his 1973 study of trans-border information flow, Hester suggested that variables such as national rank in the power hierarchy of nations, and political and economic affinities were causal factors determining the patterns of information flow. One year later, Hester studied the news flow from Latin America via AP and found that more than half of the items about Latin America in the news service wire were crisis-oriented.

A couple of years later, Gerbner and Marvanyi studied how the world's press handled regional coverage and found wide variations in how different parts of the world were covered. [9] Readers of all press systems, the study reported, knew most about Western Europe. Soviet readers got more news about the U.S.A. and Europe than readers living in these areas got about the Soviets. Furthermore, Africa, Australia and Oceania and the socialist countries, including China, Mongolia and North Korea, were reported to be barely visible in the world's press of the 1970's. These findings were supported by a study by Semmel. [10]

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[7] See W. W. Waymack, "Editorial Pages in Wartime, Their Technique and Ideology," *Journalism Quarterly*, 19(1942), pp. 24-38; Wayne Wolfe, "Images of the U.S. in Latin American Press," *Journalism Quarterly,* 41(1964), pp. 75- 79; C. A. Oliphant, "The Image of the United States as Projected by the Peking Review," *Journalism Quarterly*, 41(1964), pp. 440-469.

[8] Al Hester, "Theoretical Considerations in Predicting Volume and Direction of International Information Flow," *Gazette*, 19(3), pp.238-49; and Al Hester, "The News from Latin America Via a World News Agency," *Gazette*, 20, pp. 82-98.

[9] George Gerbner and George Marvanyi, "The Many Worlds of the World's Press," *Journal of Communication*, 21 (Winter 1977), pp. 52-66.

[10] Andrew K. Semmel, "Foreign News in Four U.S. Elite Dailies: Some Comparisons," *Journalism Quarterly*, 54(1977), pp. 732-36.

Rimmer's study on the foreign news coverage in UPI's "A" wire explored another aspect of the images and perception issue. [11] Rimmer analyzed six days' worth of foreign news flow in UPI's "A" wire, and concluded that UPI's "A" wire drew its foreign news material from a very limited range of countries and tended to emphasize particular US interests rather than report host countries on their own merits.

Meanwhile, Wilhoit and Weaver did the first of their research series on foreign news coverage in two wire services: AP and UPI. In their first study of the series, the authors reported that the two wire services carried a higher percentage of internal conflict or crisis stories originating in the developing countries than in the developed countries. Two years later, they repeated the study and found that the findings they reported in the original study still held but were reduced in degree. Still two years later, Weaver and Kirate repeated the earlier studies. This time, they added a third wire service, the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool, and found the 1979 study's findings were no longer true. They reported that the proportion of news dealing with conflict or crisis declined dramatically, especially in news about the Third World. [12] This study suggested that criticisms of advocates of the new international information order might have contributed to the improvement.

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[11] Tony Rimmer, "Foreign News on UPI's 'A' Wire in the U.S.A.," *Gazette*, 28(1), pp. 35-49.

[12] David H. Weaver and G. Cleveland Wilhoit, "Foreign News Coverage in Tow U.S. Wire Services," *Journalism of Communication*, 31(Spring 1981), pp. 55-63; G. Cleveland Wilhoit and David Weaver, "Foreign News Coverage in Two U.S. Wire Services: An Update," *Journal of Communication*, 33(Spring 1983), pp. 132-148; and Mohammed Kirate and David Weaver, "Foreign News Coverage in Three Wire Services: A Study of AP, UPI and the Non-Aligned News Agencies Pool," *Gazette*, 35(1), pp. 31-47.

Scholars continued their interest in examining how the Western press covered particular Third World news events.

Mehra studied the Western media's coverage of Sadat's 1981 crackdown on his religious and political opposition and concluded that the coverage was sloppy, shallow, inaccurate and irresponsible. [13] Another study that reached similar conclusions was carried out by Agbese and Ogbondah on the Western media's coverage of two military coups in Nigeria. [14] In addition, they argued that the Western media were more concerned with the impact the political changes in the Third World had on the U.S. economic interests. This qualitative speculation received empirical examination in this study.

The reviewed literature clearly points to the following conclusions:

. Various biases and stereotypes against the developing countries and their peoples exist in the Western media's coverage.

These biases and stereotypes manifest themselves in the media's routine practice, such as selecting what news events to cover and what not to cover, how to cover the selected events, and what kind of sources to cite, sources that tend to embrace pro-West attitudes or sources that hold nationalist views. [15] Because of the pro-democracy nature of the 1989 Chinese students' demonstrations, it was anticipated that the Western media would have sided with the students instead of the Chinese government.

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[13] Achal Mehra, "The Hero as Villain: Western Media Coverage of the Sadat Crackdown," *Gazette,* 29(3), pp. 137-53.

[14] Pita Ogaba Agbese and Chris W. Ogbondah, "The U.S. Press and Political Change in the Third World: The Coverage of Military Coups," *Political Communication and Persuasion*, 5(1988), pp. 33-47.

[15] Said, ibid.; and Pratt, ibid.

. Among the factors that affect the practice of the media in the West is economics. In covering foreign news, the media tend to be more concerned about the influence that political changes taking place in foreign countries will have on the U.S. economic interests. [16]

Based on these conclusions, the following hypotheses were tested in the present study:

H1: The articles published by the studied newspapers will use more pro-student movement sources than pro-Chinese government sources.

H2: The studied newspapers will devote more space to covering the U.S. economic interests than to the economic interests of other areas.

Methodology

A content analysis of four U.S. newspapers was conducted to test the hypotheses.

The population of content for this study was defined as "all articles published by *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, and *The Los Angeles Times* during a three-month period beginning on April 15, 1989, that were directly related to that year's Chinese students' pro-democracy demonstrations."

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[16] Agbese and Ogbondah, ibid.; Read, ibid.; and Schiller, ibid.

A sample was drawn from the issues of these four U.S. newspapers published between April 15, 1989 and July 14, 1989. To assure proper representation of all seven days of the week, a composite week sample was constructed. Using a table of random numbers, the following seven days were selected: April 29, 1989, Saturday; May 8, Monday; May 26, Friday; June 11, Sunday; June 21, Wednesday; June 27, Tuesday; and July 6, Thursday. (*The Christian Science Monitor* does not publish on Saturdays and Sundays, the sample consisted of 26 issues of newspaper and 95 articles.)

The unit of analysis was the newspaper article. This study had three independent variables: newspaper title, story source, and space devoted to different economic interests.

To test how fair and balanced Western media coverage of the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident was, this study counted the number of times sources on either side of the issue were cited. If pro-student movement sources were cited significantly more often than pro-government sources, then hypothesis one is supported.

Value positions for the story source variable were: pro-student movement sources; pro-government sources; and neutral sources. A pro-student movement source was one that explained positively the viewpoints and causes of the students', that extended support to the students, and that, directly or indirectly, promoted the values pursued by the students. A pro-government source was one that explained positively the policies and opinions of the Chinese government, that extended support to the Chinese government, and that, directly or indirectly, promoted the doctrine and ideology embraced by that government. A neutral source was one that showed no inclination towards either of the two sides.

The "space devoted to different economic interests" variable had four value positions: the Chinese economic interests; the U.S. economic interests; the general Western economic interests; and economic interests of other areas.

Since the coding for this study was done on microfilm, there was practical difficulty with measuring the exact number of standard column inches of an item devoted to a particular type of economic interests. As an alternative, this study counted the number of column lines of each item devoted to a particular type of economic interests. Then, by applying the following formula, the area of an item devoted to a particular type of economic interests was calculated:

$$S=L*W/D,$$

wherein S stands for the area (in square inches) of an item devoted to a particular type of economic interests; L stands for the number of column lines of an item devoted to a particular type of economic interests; W stands for the width (in inches) of a newspaper column; and D stands for the number of column lines in a newspaper column inch. Obviously, both W and D are specific to a given newspaper.

By sampling different sections of the four newspapers under study, the following W and D values were calculated for the newspapers and are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

The Column Width and Depth Parameters of the Four Newspapers

Newspapers	W (in inches)	D (in lines)
The New York Times	2.2	8 1/3
The Washington Post	2.0	6 5/6
The Christian Science Monitor	1.9	6 5/6
The Los Angeles Times	2.0	7 1/3

In a pilot coding, inter-coder reliability was established for two different types of variables. For the newspaper title variable, two coders agreed with each other on all decisions. Applying Scott's inter-coder reliability coefficient formula, the study calculated the coders' reliability coefficient as:

$$Pi=(P(o) - P(e))/(1.00 - P(e))=(1.00 - .50)/(1.00 - .50)=1.00$$ [17]

For the story source and space-devoted-to-economic-interests variables, the squared Pearson r value was calculated to be .98 (see Table 2). [18] These figures are highly satisfactory indeed.

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[17] William A. Scott, "Reliability of Content Analysis: The Case of Nominal Scale Coding," *Public Opinion Quarterly,* 19(Fall 1955), pp. 32-75.

[18] Roger Wimmer and Joseph Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction*, 2nd (Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1987).

Table 2

Inter-Coder Reliability for the Story Source and Space-Devoted-to-Economic-Interests Variables

Count:	64
Covariance:	270.775
Correlation:	.992
R-squared:	.983

Results

Which newspaper published the largest number of articles?

As Table 3 shows, three of the four newspapers published more or less the same number of articles during the period under study.

Table 3

Count of Articles Published by the Four Newspapers

	Count	Percent
The New York Times	28	29.474
The Washington Post	26	27.368
The Christian Science Monitor	10	10.526
The Los Angeles Times	31	32.632

The Los Angeles Times published three more than did *The New York Times*, which in turn, published a couple more than did *The Washington Post.*

The Christian Science Monitor published the least. But there is a good reason for that. First, this newspaper has a newsprint that is only a fraction of the others', which regularly exceed one hundred pages. Also, it is a tabloid while the others are broadsheets. Secondly, it is not published on Saturdays and Sundays, therefore it was only represented in five days of the sample week, while the other papers were fully represented. Thirdly, as is common practice, Sunday issues of a newspaper enjoy extra newsprint that weekday issues don't.

Sources cited by the news stories

Previous studies have found that the Western media's coverage of Third World events are colored by the ideologies prevalent in the West. The present study found that the four major U.S. newspapers cited almost 200 percent more pro-student movement sources than pro-Chinese government sources in their coverage of the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident (see Table 4).

Within a single news story, pro-student movement sources were cited as many as 10 times, while the largest number of pro-government sources being cited was four. Further, it is worth noting that the neutral sources cited by the newspapers were just as many as the pro-government sources, that is, about 30 percent of the cited pro-student movement sources.

Table 4

Sources Cited by the Four Newspapers

	Total	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
Pro-student sources	211	3.246	2.359	0	10
Pro-government sources	78	1.2	1.135	0	4
Neutral sources	79	.15	1.308	0	4

Space devoted to different economic interests

The literature has pointed out that one of the factors influencing the Western media's coverage of the Third World is economics. Further, previous qualitative studies have concluded that in the U.S. media's coverage of political events in the Third World, the U.S. economic interests were emphasized.

However, using a quantitative approach, the present study found that only slightly more space was devoted to the U.S. economic interests than to the economic interests of China, where the events under study took place (see Table 5).

Table 5

Space Devoted to Different Types of Economic Interests

Economic interests	Total	Mean	Std.Dev.	Min	Max
Chinese	243.685	2.565	5.231	0	40.364
U.S.	282.337	2.972	8.02	0	66
U.S.-Excluded Western	57.623	.607	2.977	0	26.927
Of other areas	25.866	.272	1.085	0	6.439

While the Chinese economic interests received about 250 square inches of coverage, the U.S. economic interests received a little more than 280 square inches of coverage. Further, the general Western economic interests also received close to 60 square inches, and the economic interests of other areas received about 26 square inches.

Hypotheses testing

All statistical tests were conducted at the 95% confidence level. Hypothesis one concerned the sources of articles and stated:

H1: The articles published by the studied newspapers will use more pro-student movement sources than pro-Chinese government sources.

Table 6 shows the breakdown of different types of sources cited by the four newspapers. To test whether the newspapers displayed any preference in citing sources, the following null hypothesis was created:

H1(o): The four newspapers under study will not display preference for citing pro-student movement sources or pro-Chinese government sources.

Table 6

Breakdown of Different Types of Sources Cited by the Four Newspapers

Sources	*NY Times*	*Post*	*Monitor*	*LA Times*
Pro-student	54	58	34	65
Pro-Chinese government	20	20	15	23
Neutral	25	16	14	16

Based on the null hypothesis, a contingency table was established (see Table 7). A one-group chi-square test performed on these data indicated that the null hypothesis should be rejected (df=1, chi-square=61.208, probability=0.0001). Therefore, the hypothesis was supported.

Table 7

Source Contingency Table

Sources	Expected	Observed
Pro-student movement	211.0	144.5
Pro-Chinese government	78.0	144.5

df=1, chi-square=61.208, probability=0.0001

To further test whether any individual newspaper showed any difference from the four newspapers as a group, a contingency table was established for each newspaper based on similar null hypotheses. One-group chi-square tests performed on these data indicated that each of the four newspapers as an individual newspaper showed a preference for citing pro-student movement sources (see Tables 8-11).

Table 8

Contingency Table for Sources Cited by *The New York Times*

Sources	Observed	Expected
Pro-student movement	54.0	37.0
Pro-Chinese government	20.0	37.0

df=1, chi-square=15.622, probability=0.0001

Table 9

Contingency Table for Sources Cited by *The Christian Science Monitor*

Sources	Observed	Expected
Pro-student movement	34.0	24.5
Pro-Chinese government	15.0	24.5

df=1, chi-square=7.367, probability=0.0066

Table 10

Contingency Table for Sources Cited by *The Los Angeles Times*

Sources	Observed	Expected
Pro-student movement	65.0	44.0
Pro-Chinese government	23.0	44.0

df=1, chi-square=20.045, probability=0.0001

Table 11

Contingency Table for Sources Cited by *The Washington Post*

Sources	Observed	Expected
Pro-student movement	58.0	39.0
Pro-Chinese government	20.0	39.0

df=1, chi-square=18.513, probability=0.0001

The second hypothesis concerned the space devoted to different economic interests and stated:

H2: The studied newspapers will devote more space to covering the U.S. economic interests than to the economic interests of other areas of the world.

Table 12 shows that, of the space devoted to economic interests, a large proportion was devoted to the Chinese and the U.S. economic interests. Relatively speaking, the space devoted to the general Western economic interests and economic interests of other areas was negligible. To test the current hypothesis, the following null hypothesis was established:

Table 12
Breakdown of Space Devoted to Different Economic Interests

Economic Interests	*NY Times* (in square inches)	*Post*	*Monitor*	*LA Times*	Total
Chinese	52.79	63.22	30.03	97.64	243.67
U.S.	52.54	63.80	37.82	128.18	282.34
US-excluded Western	16.37	33.08	0	8.18	57.63
Of other areas	5.54	9.66	1.39	9.27	25.86

H2(o): The space devoted to the U.S. economic interests by the four newspapers under study will not be significantly different from that devoted to the Chinese economic interests.

Accordingly, a contingency table was constructed (see Table 13), upon which a one-group chi-square test was carried out. The test indicated that the difference between the space devoted to covering the U.S. economic interests was not significantly different from that devoted to the Chinese economic interests.

Table 13
Contingency Table for Space Devoted to the Chinese and the U.S. Economic Interests by the Four Newspapers

Expected Economic interests	(in square inches)	Observed
Chinese	243.670	263.005
U.S.	282.340	263.005

df=1, chi-square=2.843, probability=0.918

To further test whether any individual newspaper showed any difference from the four newspapers as a group, each paper was tested separately.

Accordingly, four contingency tables were constructed, upon each of which a one-group chi-square test was performed. As the results of these tests indicated (see Tables 14-17), only in the case of *The Los Angeles Times* was the null hypothesis rejected (df=1, chi-square=4.13, probability=.0421).

Table 14
Contingency Table for Space Devoted to the Chinese and the U.S. Economic Interests by *The New York Times*

Economic interests	Observed (in square inches)	Expected
Chinese	52.790	52.665
U.S.	52.540	52.665

df=1, chi-square=0.001, probability=.9806

Table 15
Contingency Table for Space Devoted to the Chinese and the U.S. Economic Interests by *The Washington Post*

Economic interests	Observed (in square inches)	Expected
Chinese	63.220	63.510
U.S.	63.800	63.510

df=1, chi-square=0.003, probability=.959

Table 16
Contingency Table for Space Devoted to the Chinese and the U.S. Economic Interests by *The Christian Science Monitor*

Economic interests	Observed (in square inches)	Expected
Chinese	30.030	33.925
U.S.	37.820	33.925

df=1, chi-square=.894, probability=.3443

Table 17
Contingency Table for Space Devoted to the Chinese and the U.S. Economic Interests by *The Los Angeles Times*

Economic interests	Observed (in square inches)	Expected
Chinese	97.640	112.910
U.S.	128.180	112.910

df=1, chi-square=4.13, probability=.0421

Discussions

Based on findings of previous research, the present study set out to test hypotheses regarding two highly ideologically- and politically-charged accusations about U.S. press coverage of events in Third World countries. The fact that the present study found support for one hypothesis and limited support for the other suggests that further efforts to verify the findings of this study are called for.

Hypothesis one was supported. Yet caution must be exercised in interpreting what that means. It has been argued that the U.S. media are institutionally structured to uphold the traditional Western values such as freedom of the press, democracy, and individualism. In other words, it is simply unrealistic to demand the Western media to be perfectly objective in their dealing with un-Westlike political and ideological systems. Further exploration of the media's structural factors that may account for this finding should be initiated.

Hypothesis two was partially supported. More specifically, of the four newspapers, only *The Los Angeles Times* was found to have devoted significantly more space to the U.S. economic interests than to the Chinese economic interests.

Taken together, these findings suggest that to render a more accurate and responsible account of the U.S. media's performance, it is necessary to pay due attention to individual newspapers rather than painting a broad-stroke picture of the media indiscriminately.

Further research efforts towards addressing the media's coverage of the Tiananmen Square tragedy are called for. This study has examined four U.S. newspapers' coverage of the Tiananmen Square incident, yet previous research has found that the general Western media tend to act in a similar way in covering the Third World. Therefore, a logical research question is: Did the rest of the Western media cover the Tiananmen Square tragedy in a way similar to that reported here?

All four newspapers examined in the present study have national or even international reputations. How did other newspapers cover the Tiananmen Square incident? Did they follow the same pattern as the national newspapers?

Other research comparing the Western media and Third World media coverage of the Tiananmen Square incident would also be valuable for the debate on the international flow of news and information. Research could be extended to address those “remote” countries such as North Korea, Cuba, and Albania (when the Tiananmen Square tragedy happened, Albania was still one of China political and ideological allies), or a comparison between the U.S. media’s coverage and that of the Soviet media of the incident could be conducted. Finally, the Chinese government’ voice should be studied.

Since the Tiananmen Square tragedy took place, the world has changed greatly. The Berlin Wall is gone. The whole Eastern Communist Bloc has changed its color. The conditions Chinese student demanded of their government by resorting to such desperate measures as staging a seven-day hunger strike in Tiananmen Square seem far less distant than they once were. In retrospect, one wonders what if the Tiananmen Square hunger strike did not happen until half a year later? The answer to the question might be very different from the tragedy the world saw on June 3-4, 1989.

Under this new international environment, it seems that the institutional, ideological, and cultural barriers between the Western world and the non-Western world are giving way to the UNESCO cause of promoting better mutual understanding among all world peoples. Perhaps it is time we push the debate on the issue of international flow of news and information onto a new and higher plane. Future research might begin to examine the potential positive effects of international news flow. The Western media may well have helped raise the Chinese people’s awareness of human rights and other democratic values, and may well have contributed to breaking the cultural barriers between that country and the West.

Newspaper Ties, Community Ties and the Evaluation of a Local Community

by

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Previous research indicates that newspaper readership is associated with unrealistically high estimates of local crime and with negative evaluations of local government officials. Although one investigator suggests the negative findings may be anomalies caused by real conflict in the community, the work showing low levels of trust in local officials among those who closely follow local government news and rely on newspapers rather than television raises questions about the contribution of newspaper coverage to community image.

The idea that newspaper use is related to negative evaluations of a community runs counter to the community ties literature which suggests that newspaper use and community integration go hand in hand. Therefore, this study was conducted to determine whether newspaper ties are inevitably related to negative community evaluations. Data used in this investigation were collected in telephone interviews conducted in February 1990 with a systematic random sample of 227 residents of a small western city with little history of political conflict, crime or corruption and a newspaper more inclined to boosterism than investigation.

Results indicate that newspaper coverage may, indeed, be related to evaluations, but the correlations are as likely to be positive as negative. For government and its functions, which are likely to be the subject of issue-oriented coverage, ties to the newspaper were negatively correlated with evaluations. However, evaluations of the community as a whole, as well as aspects of the community likely to receive feature and event-oriented coverage, were positively correlated with newspaper ties.

Examination of the actual evaluations and of correlations between them and different newspaper ties and different kinds of community ties suggest that readers probably do not unthinkingly accept a media reality that differs greatly from actual conditions in the town. In a small city, where direct observation of multiple facets of community life is easier than it is in larger cities, perceptions of the community appear to be related as much to personal observation, life stage and ties to the community as they are to ties to the newspaper.

Newspaper Ties, Community Ties and the Evaluation of a Local Community

by

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Newspaper Ties, Community Ties and the Evaluation of a Local Community

Although television has long been associated with a kind of videomalaise[1] that results in low levels of political knowledge, efficacy and trust and high levels of political cynicism among the most regular viewers,[2] the effects of newspaper use have generally received more favorable evaluations.

Beginning with the seminal work of Robert Park[3] newspapers have been viewed as the mechanism for integrating people into the political, cultural and social life of a community. Picking up on the close relationship between newspaper readership and membership in organizations that Park observed, Janowitz specified more specific kinds of community ties that should be associated with newspaper readership.[4] While the postulated links are not seen as causal, the relationships suggest that newspaper readership and spatial, institutional and affective ties to a community are inextricably linked.

In work foreshadowing more recent investigations by Stamm and his colleagues,[5] Janowitz saw citizens as active participants in the integration process. According to Stamm, those engaged in building or maintaining community ties would find newspapers most useful. From this perspective newspapers are useful for learning about and becoming a part of a local community. Therefore readership is associated with spatial, behavioral and affective ties to community.

In contrast to television which provides less of the kind of news about local communities that should be useful for building and maintaining ties, one might expect that ties both to the local newspaper and to the community would be associated with more favorable images of the community and its government than would television reliance. However, more recent work suggests the optimistic view that positive images of community will be related to newspaper use may not be warranted.

Although Becker and Whitney found that television-dependent respondents had more negative attitudes about local government than did newspaper-dependent respondents,[6] Burgoon *et al.* note that public opinion polls find the majority of the public feels the news they get from newspapers is biased in that it overemphasizes bad news.[7]

That finding is consistent with research in the agenda-setting tradition which posits people learn which issues are important as well as their images of candidates and issues from the relative news emphasis they receive and the way they are described.[8] Because news is almost by definition "bad," one might expect that regular attention to stories of local crime, conflict and corruption would lead those most media-reliant to have the least favorable image of their community. Here the effect may be as great or greater for the newspaper-reliant as for those who prefer television because emphasis cues such as length and location are most easily recognized in a print format.

Although Fredin and Kosicki found that people can recognize the bias inherent in the definition of news and have some ability to compensate for it in making evaluations of their community,[9] researchers have consistently noted that public perceptions of crime in a community are more closely related to the amount of crime news in the local paper than they are to the actual amount of crime as reflected in police records.[10]

More recently Emig found that those who followed local news most regularly and who relied on newspapers rather than television had higher levels of political knowledge, but they also exhibited more political alienation defined in the study by low scores on a measure of incumbent-based trust.[11] He attributed these findings to cumulative frequent contact with media content rather than attentiveness to it, but he also noted his findings may be anomalies related to the prolonged history of city-county conflict in the community he studied. Because Emig's findings, coupled with those from the agenda-setting tradition, are troubling from the community integration perspective, they warrant further investigation.

Therefore, this study uses data collected in a small western city with little history of local conflict to test hypotheses relating community ties and newspaper ties to public perceptions of community quality. If Emig's findings are generalizable, we should expect that in this community, too:

> Hypothesis 1: Ties to the local newspaper should be negatively correlated with evaluations of local government and other aspects of the community that are most affected by the function of local government and most likely to receive issue-oriented coverage.

However, because not all newspaper content is issue-oriented, we would not expect a negative correlation between newspaper ties and all aspects of community life. Instead it seems reasonable to expect:

> Hypothesis 2: Ties to the local newspaper should be positively correlated with evaluations of aspects of the community, such as its culture and recreational facilities, that lend themselves to feature and event-oriented coverage.

Those aspects of life in the community may make an important contribution to overall satisfaction with the community. They also represent the kind of integration into a community that the community ties literature suggests newspapers foster. Therefore, if they are evaluated favorably, we might also expect that:

> Hypothesis 3: The overall evaluation of the community should be positively correlated with both newspaper ties and community ties.

Although integration into community activities should be positively correlated with overall evaluation of the community, people may become active in the community primarily because of their negative evaluations of certain aspects of life in the community. Therefore, we might expect:

> Hypothesis 4: Community ties representing integration into the community will be negatively correlated with those aspects of community life, such as environmental quality, that lend themselves to issue-oriented news coverage and also to citizen action.

Those with stronger ties to the community should have additional information about the community. They most likely know more people and know more about the town. They are also likely to be more comfortable in it than those with weaker ties to the community. As a result, they have independent information apart from that provided to them by the newspaper to use in evaluating their community. Therefore, if ties to place can be conceptualized as something of a surrogate for affective ties to the community, we might expect that:

> Hypothesis 5: Community ties, and particularly ties to the community as place, will be positively correlated with an overall evaluation of the community and more predictive of it than newspaper ties.

Methodology

Data for this study were collected in telephone interviews during the last two weeks of February 1990 with 227 residents of a small (population approximately 40,000), western city located 15 miles from a somewhat larger city that is the home of a major research university. Respondents for the survey represent a systematic random sample drawn from the telephone directory with the exception that listings for rural addresses were replaced with the next entry with a city address.

The city studied is rarely covered by media from its larger neighbor or from the capital city, approximately 50 miles away, because it has little of the conflict, crime or corruption that normally generate media attention. Therefore, residents must depend on the local newspaper for news coverage of their city. The local paper (daily circulation 16,000) provides relatively thorough coverage of the town with a mixture of hard news and features. Although it does not avoid reporting on crime or controversy, neither does it have a reputation for hard-hitting investigative journalism. Like many newspapers in smaller communities, it has something of a reputation for being a community booster.

In addition to standard demographic information, the study was designed to elicit information on the public's evaluation, use of and ties to the local newspaper, their ties to the community and their evaluation of it.

Community Evaluation. Perceptions of the quality of life were sought from initial open-ended questions asking respondents to name the best and worst features of living in the community and to identify the most important issue facing it.

These open-ended questions were followed by a series of fixed-response items asking respondents to grade the town as excellent, good, average, fair or poor on 25 different items. Items on this list were selected to include aspects of community life receiving regular newspaper coverage and that might also affect residents' overall evaluation of their community. Of the fixed response items, the one calling for respondents to evaluate the local city government is most similar to Emig's question about local government officials.

The overall evaluation of the community was elicited by a single question asking whether "on the whole" the "overall quality of life in X" is excellent, good, average, fair or poor.

Newspaper Ties. In this category, respondents were asked whether they subscribe to the paper. Those who indicated they currently subscribe were asked how long they had been subscribers. Respondents were also asked whether they read the local newspaper almost every day, more than half the time, about half the time, less than half the time or almost never and whether they would rate it as excellent, good, average, fair or poor.

Length of subscribing represents cumulative contact with the paper over time, while the frequency of reading represents current cumulative contact. In addition to providing a second measure of current ties to the newspaper, the question asking respondents to evaluate it also provides a measure of an affective tie to the local newspaper.

Community Ties. To provide information on ties to the community as place, respondents were asked how long they had lived in the town and whether or not they own their own home. Community ties representing integration into the community were assessed through questions asking whether respondents were very, somewhat, not very or not at all active in religious organizations, and in politics or government activities or organizations.

Results

According to survey respondents, the best and worst things about living in the community were that it has a peaceful, small-town atmosphere or that it is boring and behind the times, depending on perspective. Similarly, the most commonly mentioned issue was economic development and its spin-offs. Again, some favored development for the bigger city amenities and greater employment opportunities it might bring; others worried about its contribution to perceived over-crowding in the public schools and about its potential for bringing changes, particularly to the semi-rural atmosphere that for many was the town's major attraction.

Although they recognized some problems, respondents evaluated their town quite favorably. Among the individual measures of community quality, lower than average marks went only to economic development and several spin-off issues such as the availability of jobs, public transportation and shopping (see Table 1).

Perhaps because of the generally favorable overall evaluation, hypothesis 1 received very limited support. Evaluations of the local government, safety, public transportation, traffic, parks, water quality and taxes were negatively correlated with length of subscribing to the newspaper, but the relationships were not significant. The evaluations of street maintenance and public transportation were negatively correlated with current frequency of reading the paper, but again, the relationships were not significant. Only evaluations of the fire and police department were negatively correlated with affective tie to the newspaper. However, contrary to expectations, the evaluation of local government was significantly and positively related to an evaluation of the local newspaper (see Table 1).

Although hypothesis 1 received limited support, at best, there was support for hypothesis 2 which posited ties to the newspapers would be positively correlated with aspects lending themselves to soft news coverage. As predicted, there were significant positive correlations between frequency of reading and/or evaluation of the newspaper and respondents' evaluations of local arts, entertainment, recreational sports, and other recreational activities. Although shopping received a below average rating, this aspect of community life was also positively correlated with current newspaper ties. Most correlations with length of subscribing were also positive, but unlike the correlations with frequency of reading and newspaper evaluation, the relationships were not significant (see Table 1).

As was predicted by hypothesis 3, the overall evaluation of the community was positively correlated with all newspaper ties and all community ties. However, only the relationships between the overall evaluation of the community and the affective tie to the newspaper and between community evaluation and community integration in the form of political activity were significant (see Table 1).

Therefore, hypothesis 3 receives some limited support. A closer examination of the relationship between community evaluation and newspaper ties indicates that current ties to the newspaper may be more directly related to community evaluation than are those that represent long-standing familiarity with it.

Although the relationships are barely significant, it is those who have been subscribing fewer than 10 years, who currently read the paper regularly and who evaluate it highly that are most satisfied with their community (see Table 2).

More than four-fifths of those who have subscribed to the newspaper for five years or less evaluated the community as either good or excellent while fewer than three-fourths of those who had subscribed longer gave it similarly good marks. However, slightly over three-fourths of those who read the paper at least half the time but fewer than two-thirds who read less regularly rated the community as good or excellent. Similarly, almost all of those who judged the newspaper excellent rated the community good or excellent; approximately four-fifths of those who rated the newspaper average or good, but only about two-thirds of those who judged the paper fair or poor gave the community similarly high marks (see Table 2).

Neither measure of ties to the community as place were significantly related to the measure of overall quality. About half the home-owners and half the renters rated the community as good or excellent, while the pattern for length of residence was similar to that for length of subscribing. Three-fourths of those who had lived in the community one year or less and almost two-thirds of those who had lived in it between one and five years rated it as good or excellent. However, no more than half of those who had lived in the community more than five years gave it similar high marks (see Table 3).

The correlations between overall community evaluation and community integration were stronger. In the case of political activity, the relationship was also statistically significant. Among those at least somewhat active in a religious organization or in political or governmental activities or organizations, at least four-fifths judged the community good or excellent. Only about two-thirds of those less active in religious organization and no more than three-fourths of the politically inactive gave it similarly high marks (see Table 4).

Like hypothesis 1, hypothesis 4 which posited a negative correlation between community integration and evaluations of issue-oriented aspects of community life received some support. In general there were more negative correlations between evaluations and ties to place than there were for the correlations with community integration ties. However, as predicted, the negative correlations with integration ties come from facets of community life likely to be the subject of issue-oriented coverage and at least somewhat amenable to citizen input (see Table 1).

Besides those aspects of the community negatively correlated with length of residence, the negative correlations with political activity were for evaluations on environmental quality, street maintenance and public transportation. Safety, public transportation, and the public schools were negatively correlated with religious activity, as were art and the parks. While art and the parks are usually associated with feature coverage, there had been recent controversy over the appropriateness of adding a particular sculpture to those on permanent display in community parks.

Entering the newspaper ties, community ties and demographic measures into a regression equation to predict the perceived overall quality of the community indicates that only the affective tie to the newspaper has any predictive ability (see Table 5). However, the overall equation was not significant. Together the three newspaper ties, five community ties and three demographic variables explained almost no variance. Therefore, hypothesis 5 which predicted community ties, and particularly those to the community as place, would be most predictive of community evaluation must also be rejected.

Conclusion

Consistent with previous research, this study found negative correlations between ties to the local newspaper and some facets of community life representing the functions of local government which are likely to receive issue-oriented coverage in a local newspaper. However, contrary to other studies, assessments of the local government itself and of community safety were positively correlated with current ties to the newspaper. Respondents' assessment of most facets of the community likely to receive feature and event-oriented coverage, as well as their overall evaluation of the community, were also positively correlated with all measures of ties to the newspaper.

Survey data alone are not sufficient for determining whether those with strong newspaper ties are picking up their image of the community from the newspaper and, if so, whether that image reflects the community as it really is. However, the data suggest some possibilities as to newspaper effects and their limits.

The negative correlations between current newspaper ties and evaluations of street maintenance and public transportation and between current evaluation of the newspaper and evaluations of the fire and police departments suggest recent newspaper attention to local problems may have some effect on public perceptions. However, newspaper ties need not lead to a generally negative evaluation of the community.

The stronger significant, positive relationships between current newspaper ties and the community's cultural and recreational opportunities suggest feature and event-oriented coverage may do more to create favorable impressions than issue-oriented coverage of local conflicts does to create a negative impression. The significant, positive correlations between newspaper ties and aspects of community life likely to receive feature and event-oriented newspaper coverage suggest that boosterism by a local newspaper may make a direct contribution to public perceptions of the overall quality of life in their community.

While both the negative and positive correlations suggest the effects of news coverage on public perceptions, the data provide little support for the possibility of the newspaper imposing a media image unrelated to actual conditions in the community.

In a relatively small city, most aspects of community quality are directly observable in a way they are not in larger cities.

Therefore, the below-average rating of some aspects of the community provide a kind of reality check. Certainly it would not require newspaper attention to make residents aware that traffic is heavier than it once was, that good jobs are in short supply, taxis are the only form of public transportation, or that people have to drive to larger cities to find major retail stores.

The greater number of negative correlations between quality of life factors and both length of subscribing and length of residence suggest that things have changed in the community. Quite apart from newspaper coverage, the negative correlations on items such as safety, traffic and the lack of public transportation may reflect the concerns of older persons, who are most likely to be both long-term subscribers and long-time residents.

Similarly, the weaker and sometimes negative correlations between cultural and recreational aspects of the town and length of subscribing and/or length of residence suggest differences in interests and concerns that are more related to life stages than to newspaper coverage. Here, it must be remembered that it was the short-term residents and subscribers, not those with longer ties to the community and to its paper, who evaluated the community most favorably. This suggests that needs, interests and judgments vary with age and life stage.

Stamm's research suggests that those settling into a community and those who are settled in it are the ones most likely to appreciate both the availability of cultural and recreational facilities and newspaper coverage calling them to public attention. In contrast to newcomers and to younger residents with growing families, long-time residents may know what's available in the community and when certain events will happen. Older residents may be disengaging from the community and no longer care as much about local events and community facilities as they once did.

The positive correlations between frequency of reading and evaluations of the arts, library, recreational sports and other recreational opportunities, restaurants and entertainment suggest newspapers can perform the kind of integrative function the original community ties literature postulated for them. However, differences between correlations with newspaper ties and with community ties representing integration suggest that certain kinds of community ties place their own limitations on the ability of a newspaper agenda to impose a particular image of the community.

While respondents noted problems with overcrowding in the schools as one of the economic development-related issues facing the town, only religious activity is negatively correlated with evaluation of the public schools. This and the similar negative correlations between religious activity and evaluations of art and the parks suggest that some perceptions arise out of a consensus within certain groups. Depending on the salience of the group, evaluations may be more related to membership in a particular group than to other ties to the community or to its newspaper.

Similarly, the negative correlations between evaluations of environmental concerns and political activity may be another example of evaluations affected by socialization to group norms.

Rather than the newspaper performing an integrative function that mobilizes people to activism, the negative correlations suggest a kind of issue-oriented activism. Those who evaluate the community unfavorably may become politically active in an environmental group. Because the group gets its identity from its attempt to ameliorate a perceived problem, its members may have a vested interest in evaluating the underlying concern negatively as a way to validate their continuing activity.

Thus, cumulative contact with newspaper coverage may not be the greatest influence on perceptions of individual facets of community life or of an overall assessment of its quality. It certainly is not the only factor. Whether an aspect of community life is covered and how it is covered almost certainly make a difference in how that facet will be perceived by those who attend to the media coverage. However, in a small city, people are probably as likely to pick up impressions from their own observations as from their local newspaper. Regardless of community size, individual interests and needs, as well as group memberships undoubtedly make their contribution.

A single survey conducted at one point in time can do little to untangle the complex interactions among media coverage, ties to the media, independent observations and various ties to the community all of which undoubtedly make some contribution to how people evaluate their community. At the very least, as a first step research should take into account the actual nature of coverage and whether people actually attend to it. In addition, some independent reality check similar to the police records used in agenda-setting research would be helpful.

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Table 1

Newspaper Ties, Community Ties and Community Evaluation

		Item Correlation with:					
		Newspaper Ties:			Community Ties:		
Item	Mean Eval.^{a}	Read. Freq.	Yrs. Sub.	Eval.	Yrs. in Com.	Rel. Act.	Pol. Act.
Cost of Living	5.996	.023	-.072	.149*	-.097	.047	.026
Local Government	5.326	.103	-.009	.154*	-.161**	.158**	.025
Safety	6.252	.034	-.177***	.077	.029	-.015	.168*
Street Maintenance	5.251	-.026	.028	-.036	.071	.072	-.004
Public Trans.	3.829	-.040	-.001	-.034	-.008	-.050	-.133*
Traffic	5.802	.022	-.004	.182***	.029	.034	.057
Police	6.354	.066	.049	-.014	.063	.263***	.122
Fire Department	7.217	.143*	.013	-.024	.143*	.083	.121*
Public Schools	5.643	.096	.057	.171*	.132*	-.042	.057
Social Services	6.075	.022	.051	.086	.074	.097	.036
Medical Care	7.126	.085	.062	.221***	.056	.119*	.110
Arts	6.864	.274***	.033	.371***	-.053	-.001	.048
Library	7.386	.175***	.046	.083	.214***	.042	.031
Entertainment	5.027	.131*	.064	.217***	.066	.156*	.115*
Parks	7.341	.060	-.014	.014	.050	-.009	.121*
Recreational Sports	6.645	.223***	-.069	.046	-.052	.016	.133*
Other Recreation	5.982	.258***	.010	.152*	.052	.208***	.145*
Shopping	3.919	.104	.004	.165*	-.064	.014	-.153
Restaurants	5.161	.124*	.018	.266***	-.005	.072	-.001
Ec. Development	4.423	.093	.025	.134*	-.039	-.006	-.034
Job Availability	3.624	.045	-.025	.065	.054	.049	.079
Environment	6.613	.045	.001	.031	.077	.034	-.026
Air Quality	6.153	-.073	.008	.108	.044	.018	-.149*
Water Quality	6.369	.096	-.048	.288***	-.021	.109	-.022
Taxes	5.109	.033	-.019	.276***	-.058	.099	.082
Overall Quality	6.627	.110	.005	.176**	.061	.112	.151*

^{a} Evaluation is on a 5-point scale (1 = poor; 3 = fair; 5 = average; 7 = good; 9 = excellent).

* $p \leq .05$
** $p \leq .01$
*** $p \leq .005$

Table 2

Newspaper Ties and Community Evaluation

	Evaluation				
Tie	Poor 1	2	3	4	Excellent 5
Readership					
Almost Daily (n=155)	1.3%	5.8%	15.5%	60.6%	16.8%
Most of Time (n=24)	---	---	25.0	66.7	8.3
Half of Time (n=9)	---	---	22.2	77.8	---
Less than Half (n=20)	---	10.0	25.0	50.0	15.0
Almost Never (n=11)	9.1	9.1	27.3	36.4	18.2
Kendall's Tau C = .06, $p < .1$; Pearson's r = .11, $p < .1$					
Years Subscribing					
1 Year or Less (n=7)	100%	---	---	---	---
2-5 Years (n=33)	3.0	3.0	9.1	66.7	18.2
6-10 Years (n=57)	---	14.0	14.0	64.9	7.0
11-15 Years (n=26)	3.8	3.8	26.9	38.5	26.9
16 or More (n=102)	2.0	2.0	21.6	57.8	16.7
Kendall's Tau C = -.01, n.s.; Pearson's r = .05, p n.s.					
Newspaper Evaluation					
Excellent (n=18)	---	---	5.6%	55.6	38.9
Good (n=82)	1.2	3.7	15.9	64.6	14.6
Average (n=68)	1.5	5.9	19.1	64.7	20.0
Fair (n=25)	---	8.0	24.0	52.0	16.0
Poor (n=8)	---	12.5	25.0	50.0	12.5
Kendall's Tau C = .13, $p < .005$; Pearson's r = .18*, $p < .005$					

Table 3

Ties to Community as Place and Community Evaluation

	Evaluation				
	Poor				Excellent
Tie	1	2	3	4	5
Home Ownership					
Own (n=164)	2.4%	13.4%	33.5%	41.5%	9.1%
Rent (n=36)	11.1	8.3	27.8	41.7	11.1
Chi Square 6.58, d.f. 4, n.s.; Cramer's V = .18, n.s.					
Length of Residence					
1 Year or Less (n=14)	7.1%	---	14.3%	71.4%	7.1%
2-5 Years (n=31)	---	---	38.7	51.6	9.7
6-10 Years (n=43)	7.0	23.3	23.3	32.6	14.0
11-15 Years (n=43)	4.7	14.0	46.5	27.9	7.0
16 or More (n=72)	2.8	12.5	33.6	43.1	8.3
Kendall's Tau C = -.07, n.s.; Pearson's r = .06, p n.s.					

Table 4

Community Integration Ties and Community Evaluation

	Evaluation				
Tie	Poor 1	2	3	4	Excellent 5
Religious Activity					
Very Active (n=51)	---	6.1%	14.3%	63.3%	16.3%
Somewhat (n=64)	---	4.7	15.6	67.2	12.5
Not Very (n=26)	---	7.7	30.8	46.2	15.4
Not at All (n=75)	5.3	5.3	20.0	53.3	16.0
Kendall's Tau B = .08, p < .1; Pearson's r = .11, p < .1					
Political Activity					
Very Active (n=6)	---	---	16.7%	50.0%	33.3%
Somewhat (n=49)	---	4.1	14.3	63.3	18.4
Not Very (n=52)	---	1.9	23.1	65.4	9.6
Not at All	3.6	8.2	18.2	55.5	14.5
Kendall's Tau B = .11, p < .05; Pearson's r = .15, p < .05					

Table 5

Newspaper Ties, Community Ties and Demographics as Predictors of Community Evaluation

Predictor	Beta
Newspaper Ties	
Readership	-.03
Years Subscribing	-.03
Evaluation	.20*
Community Ties (Place)	
Home Ownership[a]	.02
Length of Residence	.09
Community Ties (Integration)	
Political Activity	.10
Religious Activity	.03
Demographics	
Age	.03
Education	.01
Income	.11
R^2	.077
Adjusted R^2	.016
F	1.27 n.s.

[a] Home ownership was entered as a dummy variable. A positive beta indicates respondent is a homeowner, not a renter.)

* $p < .05$